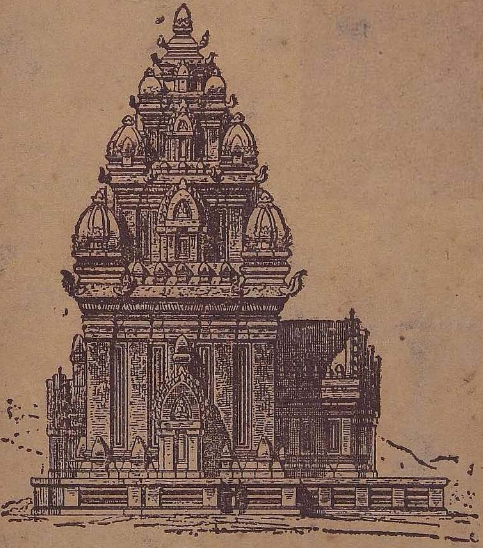
HINDU COLONIES
IN THE
FAR EAST

R. C. Majumdar



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HINDU COLONIES
IN THE
FAR EAST

BY

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PREFACE

Nearly twenty years ago, I planned to write a series of five volumes on the history of ancient Indian colonies in the Far East. The first volume on Champā was published in 1927, and the second and third volumes, dealing respectively with the political and cultural history of Suvarṇadvīpa, were published in 1936 and 1938. The last two volumes, dealing with Kambuja, Siam, Burma and other parts of Indo-China have not yet been published. It was my intention, immediately after the publication of the whole series, to bring out a single short volume dealing briefly with all these colonies. This was meant to serve as a popular hand-book for those who were unwilling or unable to go through the five big volumes of the series. As the publication of the last two volumes has to be indefinitely postponed on account of the war I thought it better to bring out the short popular volume without further delay.

In this short book I have tried to include all the essential facts bearing upon the history and culture of the ancient Hindu colonies in the Far East. I have avoided all critical discussions and references to authorities. For these, as well as fuller and detailed treatment of the topics dealt with herein, the reader may refer to the bigger volumes.

Since the publication of the first volume of the series there has been a growing desire in this country for knowledge of the ancient Indian colonies, and I hope this small book will enable even those who are not professed students of history to gain a fair idea of this fascinating aspect of ancient Indian history and culture. Recently the University of Calcutta has introduced the subject in both Intermediate and B.A. Courses in History. But the books prescribed are hardly suitable for Under-Graduate students. The absence of suitable text-books has proved a great handicap to both teachers and students and seems to be mainly responsible for the fact that the alternative Courses including the study of this subject have not yet been very popular among the students. In writing this book I have specially kept in view the need of these University students. If this book facilitate their study of the subject and attract a larger number to these Courses I shall consider my labour amply rewarded.

February, 4, 1944
4, Bepin Pal Road,
Kalighat, Calcutta

R. C. Majumdar

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BOOK I

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

1. THE LAND

INDO-CHINA is the name given to the large Peninsula which stretches out from the south-east of Asia far into the Indian Ocean. It lies to the south of China and south-east of India, and between the Bay of Bengal and the China Sea. It includes Burma, Siam (Thailand), Malay Peninsula, Laos, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Annam and Tonkin.

Burma comprises nearly the whole of the western part of the Peninsula. High mountains starting from Central Asian plateau separate it from India and China, and cover the northern part of the country. These throw out parallel ranges of hills, called Yomas, that extend to the extreme south. The valleys enclosed by them are watered by three great rivers, *viz.* the Irawadi, with its tributary, the Chindwin, the Sittang and the Salween. The wide delta of the Irawadi forms a large coastal plain of rich alluvial soil. Two other long narrow coastal plains constitute the provinces of Arakan and Tennasserim, two Yomas, named after them, separating the former from the Irawadi valley, and the latter from Siam.

The present independent kingdom of Siam, which includes the northern part of Malay Peninsula, is bounded on the north by Burma and Laos, on the west by Burma and about 350 miles of coast on the Bay of Bengal, on the south by the Malay Peninsula and nearly 1,000 miles of coast round the Gulf of Siam, and on the east by Laos and Cambodia.

Northern Siam, lying between the Salween and the Upper Mekong is a land of narrow valleys separated by steep longitudinal spurs rising occasionally to a height of more than 8,000 ft. Central Siam is mostly an alluvial plain intersected by many rivers, the largest of which is the Menam which passes by the capital city Bangkok and falls into the Gulf of Siam. Southern Siam embraces the northern part of the Malay Peninsula up to the Isthmus of Kra.

The Malay Peninsula or the Peninsula of Malacca is a long narrow strip of territory which forms the most southerly extremity of the mainland of Asia. Politically, it begins at the Isthmus of Kra, but geographically it extends from the parallel of the head of the Gulf of Siam, in Lat. 13°-30′, to cape Rumenia, a distance of more than 900 miles. The peninsula is bounded on the north by Siam, and is surrounded by the sea in all other directions; by the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam on the east, by the strait of Singapore on the south, and by the straits of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal on the west. There are many islands along the shores of the peninsula, the most notable being Langkawi and Penang on the west, and Singapore, Batan and Bintang on the south.

The most characteristic physical feature of the peninsula is the long range of granite mountains which runs along its whole length, descending somewhat abruptly into a wider plain on the east, and more gently into a narrower plain on the west. Almost the whole of the peninsula—both alluvial plains and mountain ranges—is covered by evergreen forests, mostly dense jungles, the major part of which is yet untrodden by human foot. The rivers are numerous, but small, and in most cases navigable for large boats only up to a short distance from the mouth.

Annam occupies the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. It is bounded on the north and the south respectively by Tonkin and Cochin-China. The China Sea forms its eastern boundary, while on the west a chain of hills shuts it off from Lower Laos and Cambodia. This chain of hills, covered with rich forests, runs along the whole length of the country, gradually descending from north to south and ranging in height from 8,000 to 6,000 ft. The long narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea, which forms the habitable zone of the country, is intersected by innumerable spurs of hills running in various directions. Sometimes the spurs of hills extend as far as the sea-coast, and nowhere does the habitable zone exceed a breadth of seventy miles. A large number of rivers issuing from the mountains falls to the sea. The whole country thus comprises a series of separate river-valleys with few routes of communication by land, favouring the growth of a number of isolated independent settlements rather than one united state.

Tonkin (also spelt as Tongking and Tonquin), which lies to the north of Annam, forms almost a natural part of this country. The Red River flows across the whole of Tonkin from north-west to south-east, and forms a huge delta on the Gulf of Tonkin which forms its eastern boundary. The northern part of Tonkin consists of a series of hills and plateaus reaching up to the borders of China, while dense forests and hills separate it from Laos on the west.

The region between Burma and Siam on the one hand and Tonkin and Annam on the other is occupied in a line from north to south by the three countries, Laos, Cambodia and Cochin-China, which may be said to constitute geographically, and in ancient times also politically, a single unit, though with diversified physical features. Through this entire region flows the mighty river Mekong, which issuing from the hills runs along the eastern borders of Burma and Siam, and then cuts its way through Luang Prabang range into the table-land of Laos proper. Running along the western border of Laos, and separating it from Siam, the majestic river passes over the Dangrek range and enters Cambodia proper near Khong.

From this point the bed of the Mekong is enlarged to nearly double its breadth and covers almost the whole of Cambodia by its ramifications. Near the modern capital city of Pnom-Penh it is joined to the vast lake of Tonle Sap, about 60 miles to the north-west, by a wide sheet of water, full of islands. From this point of junction the river branches off into two wide streams, connected by numerous cross canals, till they both fall into the China Sea forming the rich delta of Cochin-China.

The characteristic physical features of the Great Indo-Chinese Peninsula may be summed up as follows :—

Shut off by high mountains from India and China it is traversed by long ranges of hills and mighty rivers, both running north to south. The hill ranges divide the entire country into four distinct regions, *viz.* (1) Burma and (2) Siam and Malay Peninsula in the west ; (3) Annam and Tonkin in the east ; and (4) Laos, Cambodia and Cochin-China in the middle. The mighty rivers which fertilise the lands are the Irawadi and the Salween in Burma, the Menam in Siam, the Mekong in the central region, and the Red River in Tonkin.

The East Indies, called by various names such as Indian Archipelago, Malay Archipelago, Asiatic Archipelago, Indonesia and Insulinde, comprises a large group of islands of varying size, more than six thousand in number. It begins with the large island of Sumatra which lies to the west of the Malay Peninsula and is separated from it by the Straits of Malacca. The narrow Sunda Strait parts Sumatra from the neighbouring island of Java to its south-east. Java is the beginning of a series of islands lying in a long chain in the direction from west to east. These are Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores and a number of small islands which almost stretch up to New-Guinea. A little to the south of this line are the two important islands, Sumba and Timor.

A similar chain of islands lies to the north, along a line drawn

through the centre of Sumatra towards the east. It begins with Borneo, the largest island in the archipelago. Next comes Celebes and then the large group of islands known as the Moluccas or Spice islands.

Beyond all these islands, numbering more than six thousand, lie the large island of New-Guinea to the east and the group of islands known as the Philippines to the north.

The Archipelago is separated from Indo-China in the north by the South China Sea and from Australia in the south by the Timor Sea. To the west there is no large country till we reach the shores of India and Africa, the intervening sea being dotted with hundreds of islands. The most important of these, beginning from the east are Andaman, Nicobar, Ceylon, Maldives, Laccadives and Madagascar.

The ancient Hindus designated the country described above, *viz.* Indo-China and Malay Archipelago, by the general name Suvarṇabhūmi or Land of Gold. They, however, also used the name Suvarṇadvīpa or Island of Gold to denote particularly the islands, including Malay Peninsula. Particular regions in Indo-China (such as Burma and Siam) and Malay Archipelago are also called respectively Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa. The names indicate that the Hindus, like the Arabs, believed that this region produced gold in large quantities, or was rich in precious commodities. In any case they regarded the lands as veritable mines of gold, literally or figuratively.

2. THE PEOPLE

The most primitive people in Indo-China probably belonged to the Melanesian group inhabiting Australia and New-Guinea, but they have hardly left any trace behind. To these succeeded an Indonesian group which is now represented by the Chams, the remnant of a powerful nation which came under the influence of the Indian colonists and founded the kingdom of Champā in the southern part of what is now called Annam.

Next came the most important group, called Mon-Khmer from the names of its two leading representatives. The Khmers settled in Cambodia, Cochin-China and a part of what is now called Laos to the north of it, though it is very likely that they were preceded by savage mountain tribes whom they conquered and forced to take shelter in hills and forests.

The Mons inhabited the lower valleys of the Irawadi and the Salween in Burma. The rest of this province was occupied by

various Mongoloid tribes belonging to the Tibeto-Burman group. The Mons, however, extended further south and, along with the Khmers, settled among and dominated over the Lawas, the primitive population of Siam and Laos. Throughout the course of history a distinction is noticeable between the heterogeneous Mon-Khmer people of Siam and the pure Khmers of Cambodia.

The Thais inhabited the province of Yunnan and the region immediately to its south full of hills, dales and forests, and watered by the upper courses of the Mekong and the Menam.

The Annamites, who have now given their name to the whole country on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, are probably a branch of the great Thai people and occupied at first only Tonkin and the northern part of present Annam up to the Hoan Sonh mountains. To their south lived the Chams. The primitive savage tribes who formed the original inhabitants of Annam and Tonkin were driven by the Chams and the Annamites to the hills and jungles.

From the point of view of history and ethnography the Malay Peninsula belongs to the East Indies, and the two together are known as Malayasia. The people of this region are usually divided into three strata :—

(1) The primitive races, such as the Semang and Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, who are wild savage tribes living in hills.

(2) The Proto-Malays found all over Malayasia, whose languages are distinctly Malay. The Batak, Achinese, Gayo and Lampongs of Sumatra, the Dayaks of Borneo and the aborigines of Celebes, Ternate and Tidor islands all belong to this type. Some of them are cruel and ferocious. The Bataks, for example, are cannibals who eat prisoners and aged relatives. Others are more civilised. The Dayaks of Borneo, although head-hunters for ritualistic purposes, are mild in character, and honest, simple, hospitable and truthful.

(3) The Malays, who now form the predominant element in the population of Malayasia are usually divided under four great heads :—(1) The Malays proper who inhabit the Malay Peninsula and the coastal regions of Sumatra and Borneo ; (2) the Javanese of Java, Madura, Bali and parts of Lombok and Sumatra ; (3) the Bugis of Celebes ; and (4) the Tagalas of the Philippines.

The peoples of Indo-China and East Indies described above belonged to various stages of culture and civilisation, from wild savage tribes, who went naked, to fairly civilised races, who not only possessed rudimentary elements of civilisation, but also some knowledge of primitive arts and sciences. They formed the main elements of population in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies when the Indians first colonised these regions shortly after or before

the beginning of the Christian Era. There are, however, reasons to believe that most of these peoples themselves had originally come from India and thus represent an earlier wave of Indian colonisation in the Far East in pre-historic times. This view is based on a study of their languages. It is now generally recognised that the languages of the Malays and the people of the numerous islands in the Pacific ocean belong to the same family, to which the name Austronesian has been applied. Recent linguistic researches have established definite connection between the languages of some primitive tribes of India such as the Munda and Khasi with Mon-Khmer and allied languages of Indo-China including those of Semang and Sakai, and the linguistic family to which they belong is called Austro-Asiatic. The German scholar Schmidt connects the Austro-Asiatic family with the Austronesian, thereby establishing a larger linguistic family called Austric, and also indicates the possibility of an ethnic unity among them. Schmidt thus regards the peoples of Indo-China and East Indies as belonging to the same stock as the Munda and allied tribes of Central India and the Khasis of North-eastern India. He regards India as the original home of all these peoples from which they gradually spread to the east and south-east. This view must, however, be regarded as only a probable one, as it lacks positive and satisfactory evidence.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN COLONISATION

As in all ages and countries, the prospect of acquiring wealth first tempted the Indian traders and merchants to explore unknown territories beyond their own frontiers. The lands and islands beyond the sea and the hills on the east were reputed to possess fabulous quantities of gold and precious minerals and were called by them Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa, 'the land of gold.' The spices of the east were also as great an attraction as they proved to be fifteen centuries later. In short, the Indians were attracted to the East by the same allurements which proved so irresistible to the Arabs in the ninth and tenth and to the Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D.

No doubt other forces were at work to speed up the pace of emigration. The missionary zeal of the Brahmans and Buddhists, pressure caused by increasing population and invasion of foreign hordes, and the spirit of adventure of the Kshatriya princes and nobles were added to the commercial enterprise of the merchants, and caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies. Many of these emigrants permanently settled in these foreign lands. They married women of the localities and the influence of their superior culture gradually Hinduised the society. This imperceptible but gradual penetration, often aided by active missionary propaganda, gradually spread Hindu religion, art, literature and social ideas in all directions. Sometimes a military adventurer seized the political power and established a Hindu kingdom. The fusion between the Indian settlers and the Hinduised local people was so complete that it is not always possible to distinguish between the two. The latter assumed Hindu names and adopted Sanskrit or Pali language and Hindu religion, manners and customs, while the Indians imbibed local habits and social usages and merged themselves into the local communities. Thus grew up the Indian colonial kingdoms which were constantly strengthened by fresh streams of immigration from the motherland.

A contemporary account of a small state in Malay Peninsula by an eye-witness shows such a colony in the making and throws interesting light upon the whole problem. It is named Tuen-suin by the Chinese. "Its market was a meeting ground between the east and west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia and more distant kingdoms who come in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects and precious merchandises. It contains five hundred merchant families, two hundred Buddhists and more than thousand Brahmans of India. The people of Tuen-suin follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brahmans settle in the country and do not go away. Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods."

The migration of the Indians on a large scale to the Far East and their colonisation in this region are echoed in many stories and legends, current in India as well as in the colonies. Although these legends cannot be regarded as history, they preserve the memory of events long forgotten and the cumulative effect of evidence of this kind cannot be altogether ignored. In particular they throw interesting light on the objects and motives of the early colonists, the routes followed by the Indians in their journey to the Far East, and the perils and hardships encountered by them both in land and sea.

Several Buddhist Jātaka stories which were probably current long before the Christian era refer to voyages between India and Suvarṇabhūmi, the general name for the lands and islands in the Far East. We may mention a few of them :—

(1) A king of Videha being defeated and killed in battle, the widowed queen fled in disguise to Champā (Bhagalpur) with her treasures. When her son had grown up he told his mother ; "Give half your treasures to me and I will go to Suvarṇabhūmi and get great riches there and will then seize my paternal kingdom." Having thus got together his stock-in-trade he put it on board a ship with some merchants bound for Suvarṇabhūmi. "My son" said the mother, "the sea has few chances of success and many dangers, do not go." But he bade her adieu and embarked on board. The rest of the story describes how, although he was shipwrecked, he at last regained the kingdom of Mithilā.

(2) Near the city of Benares was a great town of carpenters, containing a thousand families who decided to go to a foreign land. The carpenters cut down trees from forest, built a mighty ship and launched her in the river. Having put their families on board the ship, they proceeded in due course to the ocean. There they set

sail and reached an island that lay in the midst of the sea. In that island grew wild all manner of plants and fruit trees, rice, sugar-cane, banana, mango, rose-apple, jack, cocoanut and other fruits. So they took up their abode in that place.

(3) There was a seaport town named Bharukachchha (Broach in Gujrat). The son of the master-mariner in that city gained at an early age a complete mastery over the art of seamanship. Afterwards when his father died he became the head of the mariners and plied the mariner's calling. He was wise, and with him on board, no ship ever came to harm. Unfortunately it so happened that injured by the salt water both his eyes lost their sight. But still when some merchants had got ready a ship and were looking out for a skipper they selected the blind mariner. Passing through many seas and braving many perils the merchants were brought back with a rich cargo of diamonds, gold, silver, emeralds and coral.

Similar stories of mercantile voyages to Suvarṇadvīpa are told in the Bṛihatkathā, another treasure-house of old Indian stories, dating from a period before the Christian era. The most interesting of all is, however, the adventurous story of Sānudāsa of which a summary is given below.

Sānudāsa joins the gang of the adventurer Āchera, who is preparing an expedition to the land of Gold (Suvarṇabhūmi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (*Vetra*). This is the "creepers' path" (*Vetrapatha*). On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is "the bamboo's path" (*Vaṁśapatha*). Further on, they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kirātas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is the "goats' path" (*Ajapatha*). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty, as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Āchera's troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sānudāsa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Āchera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there the gold is! Sānudāsa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Āchera foretold, but the bird which carries off Sānudāsa is attacked by

another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat's skin bursts open and Sānudāsa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out.

The above story refers to several 'paths' or ingenious means of passing through difficult territory. A few more of these paths are referred to in various early books. There is *Jannupatha* where one has to crawl on knees. *Saṅkupatha* was a difficult and laborious procedure for ascending a mountain. An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up till the hook is fixed up in the mountain. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes a hole on the hillside with a diamond-tipped iron instrument, and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook, and throws it aloft again, till it is again fixed up in the mountain. Then he ties the rope to the spear, and having caught hold of the rope with one hand, strikes it by a hammer with the other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends the top of the hill. Last comes *Chhatrapatha*, the means of coming down from a steep height. One has to jump down from a precipice with an open parasol made of skin, and descends slowly to the ground, on account of the resistance of the air. In other words, it involved the principle of parachute.

These various kinds of 'paths' give us some idea of the difficulties which Indians had to surmount while travelling in unknown foreign lands to which they were attracted by lure of wealth. An idea of the dangers attending a sea-voyage in small wooden boats is given in the following vivid description recorded by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien who went by way of sea from India to China early in the fifth century A.D.

"Fa Hien took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of the navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastward for three days, and then they encountered a great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and the water came in. The merchants wished to go to the smaller vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water.

"In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and

it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days they arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa (Java)."

Literature is justly regarded as the echo of national life. The stories quoted above, and numerous other Indian folk-tales about merchants going beyond the sea indicate that the spirit of exploration and adventure was a characteristic feature of ancient Indian life.

We possess reliable evidence regarding the sea-routes followed by the Indians. Beginning from the north there was first the famous port of Tāmralipti, which is now represented by Tamluk in Midnapur district, Bengal. From this port there was a regular sailing of vessels which either proceeded along the coasts of Bengal and Burma, or crossed the Bay of Bengal and made a direct voyage to Malay Peninsula and to the East Indies and Indo-China beyond it. There were other similar ports of embarkation, one at Palura near Gopalpur (Ganjam) in Orissa, and three near Masulipatam (Madras), from which ships sailed across Bay of Bengal to the Far East. There was a regular coasting voyage from the mouth of the Ganges along the eastern coast of India to Ceylon, and thence along the western coast up to Broach at the mouth of the Narmada river and perhaps even beyond it. People from all parts of India came by land or river route to the nearest sea-port, and then made a coastal voyage to Tāmralipti, Palura, or one of the harbours near Masulipatam whence ships made a direct voyage to the Far East across the Bay of Bengal.

The existence of these ancient trade-routes between the eastern islands and the coasts of Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Gujarat, is thus established on good authority. It is interesting to find that it is precisely in these directions that the ancient traditions of Indian colonists in the Far East and South-East lead us to look for their

original homes. To mention briefly only a few of the many traditions, there is first the story of a Bengali prince Vijaya, colonising the island of Ceylon. Secondly, the foundation of Ligor is ascribed by tradition to a descendant of Asoka who fled from Magadha, embarked a vessel at Dantapura and was wrecked on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula. There is also the story preserved in the chronicles of Java, that the Hindus from Kalinga coast colonised the island. Similar traditions of colonists from Kling or Kalinga country are preserved in many other islands. Thirdly, according to traditions current among the people of Pegu, Indian colonists from the country of the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and Godavari, had at a remote time crossed the sea, and formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast. Lastly there is the story preserved in the chronicles of Java that the island was first colonised by a Gujarat prince who landed there in 75 A.D.

The exact correspondence of colonial traditions with the evidence derived from Indian source leads to the hypothesis that generally the Indian colonists proceeding by sea to the East and South, started from the four centres mentioned above, *viz.* Tāmralipti in the cost of Bengal, Gapalpur in ancient Kalinga, the three unidentified harbours near Masulipatam, and Broach.

In addition to the sea-route described above the Indian colonists also proceeded to the East and South-East by land-route through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam. We learn from the Chinese texts that at least as early as the second century B.C. there was a regular trade-route by land between Bengal and China through Upper Burma and Yunnan. Through this route the Indians came and established their colonies not only in Burma, but also in the mountainous regions of the upper valleys of the Chindwin, the Irawadi, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red River as far as Yunnan, which was known by its Indian name Gandhāra even as late as the 13th century A.D. We know the Chinese names of several of these kingdoms. To the east of the hill ranges bordering Manipur and Assam there was the Hindu kingdom of Ta-tsin. About 150 miles further east, beyond the Chindwin river, was another Hindu kingdom just to the north of the town of Ngan-si. In Yunnan itself was the kingdom of Nan-chao or Tali and a local tradition regards a son of the great Indian Emperor Asoka as having founded the colony. The whole of Upper Burma was colonised by the Indians who established kingdoms at Prome, Pagan, Tagaung, and various other places, many of which still retain their old Indian names with slight alterations. There are indications that similar Hindu kingdoms existed in Laos, in Central Indo-China. The colonists who proceeded by sea established many kingdoms in

Arakan, Lower Burma, Malay Peninsula, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China and Annam on the mainland, and in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Bali in the East Indies.

It is interesting to observe that local traditions in many of these places preserve even today the memory of the founder of the colonial kingdoms there as having originally come from India.

According to Burmese tradition, a Śākya chief of Kapilāvāstu came with an army to the country of the middle Irawadi, long before Buddha was born. The dynasty he founded ruled for 31 generations in Burma when it was overthrown by an invasion of an eastern tribe coming apparently from China. About this time there came a second band of immigrant Kshatriyas from Gangetic India. Their chief married the widowed queen of the last king of the previous dynasty and established a new kingdom. This was the origin of the ruling dynasty of upper Burma.

According to the traditions of Arakan the first king of the province was the son of a king of Benares who settled at Rāmāvatī, a name which still exists in the corrupted form Rambyi or Rami. The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the kingdom of Cambodia in the following way :—

"Ādityavaṁśa, king of Indraprastha, was displeased with one of his sons and banished him from the state. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide arose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nāgī of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand, and the king, overpowered by her charm, agreed to marry her. Then the Nāgarāja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would-be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country, built a capital for him, and changed the name of the kingdom into that of Kāmboja."

While the facts and legends mentioned above testify to the existence of colonies in these territories, they do not enable us to fix even an approximate date for their foundation. We may, however, reasonably infer from the statements of the Greek and Chinese writers and the Indian inscriptions found in many localities, that some of the colonial kingdoms, even in the easternmost parts, must have been founded not later than the second century A.D. and a few of them, at any rate, prior to this date. Colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, evidently took place much earlier, and the beginnings of trade intercourse which must have preceded colonisation may thus be placed centuries before the Christian Era.

Arakan, Lower Burma, Malay Peninsula, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin-China and Annam on the mainland and in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Bali in the East Indies.

It is interesting to observe that local traditions in many of these places ascribe a very early date [illegible] of the founding of the colonial kingdoms [illegible] colonists from India.

According to the Burmese tradition, a [illegible] came with an army to the country of the [illegible] long before the Buddha was born. This dynasty [illegible] in Burma [illegible] the [illegible] Then came a second band of immigrants [illegible] India. Their chief married the [illegible] of the last king of the previous dynasty and established a new kingdom. This was the origin of the [illegible] Burma.

According to the traditions of Malaya, the first king of the country was the son of a king of [illegible] a name which still exists in the [illegible] The Cambodian annals explain the origin of the kingdom of Cambodia in the following way:

[illegible] king of Indraprastha [illegible] one of his sons [illegible] had banished him from the [illegible] came to the country [illegible] and made himself master of it [illegible] the king [illegible] the Naga [illegible] and the [illegible] to pass [illegible] After the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the Kingdom of Kambuja.

While the tales and legends mentioned above testify to the [illegible] Indian [illegible] in their detail [illegible] We [illegible] from the accounts of the Greek and Chinese writers and the Indian inscriptions found in these places that some of the colonial kingdoms [illegible] were founded not later than the second century A.D. and a few of them at any rate go [illegible] Colonisation as distinguished from the establishment of political authority [illegible] had taken place much earlier, and the beginnings of Hindu intercourse which could have preceded colonisation [illegible] before the Christian Era.

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

EARLY HINDU COLONIES

1. Malay Peninsula

The Malay Peninsula played a very important part in the maritime and colonising activity of the Indians in the Far East from a very early period. Its geographical position made it the centre of carrying trade between China and the western world. It must have been known to India from a very early time, probably long before the Christian era.

The Hindu colonists established several states in Malay Peninsula during the first five centuries of the Christian era. About one of these, Lang-Kia-su, founded in the second century A.D., the following account is preserved in the Chinese Annals.

"The people of this country say that their state was founded more than 400 years ago (*i.e.* A. D. 100), but that it got weaker in course of time, and as there was among the relations of the king one who was an excellent man, the people turned towards him. When the king heard of this, he put him into prison, but his chains snapped spontaneously. On this the king thought him to be a supernatural being and dared not hurt him any more, but only drove him from his territory, whence he took refuge to India, and was married there to the eldest daughter (of its king). When on a sudden the king died, the great officers called back the prince, and made him king. He died more than 20 years later, and was succeeded by his son Bhagadato. In A.D. 515 he sent an envoy named Āditya with a letter to the emperor of China."

Among other Hindu states may be mentioned Kāmalaṅkā or Karmaraṅga (which has given its name to the fruit *carambola,* Bengali Kāmraṅgā), Kalasapura (in Lower Burma or northern part of Malay Peninsula), Kala (Keddah), and Pahang.

Actual remains of early Hindu civilisation in the Malay Peninsula, though scanty, are not altogether lacking. There are remains of a Hindu temple and a few stone images at Sungai Batu Estate

at the foot of Gunong Jerai (Keddah Peak). The remains of a brick-built Buddhist shrine, discovered in its neighbourhood, at Keddah, may be dated approximately in the fourth or fifth century A.D., on the strength of a Sanskrit inscription found in it. Similarly remnants of pillars, which once adorned some Buddhist temples, have been found in the northern part of Province Wellesley. These also may be dated in the fourth or fifth century A. D. on the strength of inscriptions engraved on them. A gold ornament, bearing the figure of Vishṇu on his Garuḍa, has been unearthed at Selinsing (Perak), and also, in a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree, a Cornelian seal engraved with the name of a Hindu prince, Śrī Vishṇuvarman, in characters of the fifth century A.D.

Ruins of shrines and fine images exist in the region round Takua Pa, which has been identified with the famous port Takkola mentioned by Ptolemy. On the eastern coast, round the Bay of Bandon, are the remains of early settlements, specially in the three well-known sites Caiya, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat, and Vieng Sra. The temples and images of these places may be of somewhat later date, but the inscriptions found at Ligor and Takua Pa and on a pillar at Caiya show that these settlements could not be later than the fourth or fifth century A.D.

A large number of inscriptions have been discovered in different parts of the country. They are written in Sanskrit and in Indian alphabets of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. Two of them distinctly refer to a Buddhist creed and prove the spread of Buddhism in that region. These inscriptions clearly testify to the fact that the Indians had established colonies in the northern, western and the eastern sides of the Malay Peninsula by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and that the colonists belonged to both northern and southern India.

One of these inscriptions refers to "the captain (Mahānāvika *lit.* great sailor) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Rakta-mṛittikā." Rakta-mṛittikā, which means "Red clay," has been identified with a place, still called Rangamati (Red clay), 12 miles south of Murshidabad, in Bengal.

The archaeological remains in the Malay Peninsula confirm what might have been deduced on general grounds from literary evidence. Takkola, modern Takua Pa, was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this some crossed the mountain range over to the rich wide plain on the opposite coast round the Bay of Bandon. From this centre they could proceed by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and even further east. This trans-peninsular route, marked by remains of Indian settlements, was followed by many who wanted to avoid the long

and risky voyage through the Straits of Malacca. That this second route was also very popular and largely used is indicated by the archaeological remains in the Province Wellesley. This all-sea route was naturally preferred by many traders who wanted to avoid transhipment, and offered a shorter passage to Java and southern Sumatra. On the whole the Malay Peninsula may be regarded as the main gate of the Indian colonial empire in the Far East.

The report of the Archaeological Mission in Malay Peninsula contains interesting observations regarding Hindu colonisation in this land which may be summed up as follows:

"The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takua Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western.

"The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

"The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the west. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of Brahmans of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula."

2. JAVA

The island of Java is one of the largest of what are usually known as the Sunda islands, in the Malay Archipelago. Its length is about 622 miles, while its breadth varies from 55 to 121 miles. The area of Java, including Madura and adjacent islands, is about 51,000 sq. miles. Java is bounded on the north by the shallow

Java sea which separates it from Borneo. On the south is the deep Indian ocean, stretching as far as the Antarctic Pole without a single patch of land. On the east a narrow strait, about two miles broad, separates it from the island of Bali. To the north-west is the Sunda Strait separating Java from Sumatra. The strait, at the narrowest, is only 14 miles wide, its extreme breadth being nearly 50 miles. There are many islands to the north of Java. Madura, the chief among them, is separated by a strait which, in some places, is less than a mile, and is regarded as a part of Java for all practical purposes.

An uninterrupted range of mountains, volcanic in character, runs along the whole length of the island through its centre. There are innumerable rivers in Java, but, with two exceptions, they are small and not navigable beyond a short distance.

Although the rivers of Java are mostly useless for purposes of navigation and commerce, they are excellenty adapted for irrigation. Java is one of the most fertile countries in the whole world. Any one who travels in the country cannot fail to be charmed by its evergreen fields, meadows, and hills, with traces of abundant harvest everywhere around him. Indeed, a railway journey from Batavia to Surabaya gives the traveller the impression that he is passing through a well-laid garden.

The Hindu colonisation of Java is by far the most outstanding event in the early history of that island. Many legends associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the Mahābhārata ruling at Astina, *i.e.* Hastināpura, as their capital. A modified version of these legends takes the descendants of these princes to Gujarat, whence a further wave of emigration to Java took place at a later date.

Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kalinga. In one of them we read that "twenty thousand families were sent to Java by the prince of Kling. These people prospered and multiplied. They continued, however, in an unicivilized state still the year 289 (of Javanese era *i.e.* Śaka era) when the almighty blessed them with a prince, named Kano." After describing three generations of kings, who ruled for a total period of four hundred years, the story continues: "Another principality, named Astina, sprang up at this time, and was ruled by a prince called Pula Sara, who was succeeded by his son Abiāsa, who was again succeeded by his son Pāṇḍu Deva Nātha."

In the last part of the above story, there is no difficulty in recognising the names of epic heroes like Parāśara (Pula Sara), Vyāsa (Abiāsa), and Pāṇḍu.

A tradition preserved in Java, in a late period, seems to refer the

foundation of the Hindu state to A.D. 56. The Javanese era, commencing from Aji Saka starts from 78 A.D., the epoch of the Śaka era in India. But in any case the Hindus must have established their authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D., for in 132 A.D., king Devavarman of Java sent an embassy to China.

We have more definite information regarding a Hindu kingdom founded in Western Java from four Sanskrit inscriptions of king Pūrṇavarman. His father, called Rājādhirāja, and grandfather, called Rājarshi, ruled before him. The capital of Pūrṇavarman was named Tārumā and he ruled there for at least twenty-two years.

There was also a Hindu kingdom in Central Java which the Chinese called Ho-ling or Kalinga, and evidently the colonists from that Indian province dominated in this region.

3. SUMATRA

Sumatra is the most westerly, and next to Borneo, the largest island of the Malay Archipelago. It is very narrow at its two ends and broad at the centre. The equator passes through it, dividing it almost into two equal halves. Its total length is 1060 miles, and the extreme breadh 248 miles, giving a total area of 167, 480 sq. miles.

A series of mountains run along the whole length of the island, and contain about 90 volcanoes, of which 12 are yet active. The strip of territory between the hills and the Indian ocean on the west is extremely narrow, while there is a vast alluvial plain in the east.

In spite of its rich natural resources Sumatra is but a poor and thinly populated country. Although about four times the size of Java, it has only a population of 6,219,004 or nearly one-fifth of that of the latter.

The geographical position of Sumatra marks it out as pre-eminently the site of the earliest Hindu settlement in Indonesia. Being situated midway on the route between India and China, important harbours and trading stations must have developed on its eastern coast from an early period. From what has been stated above, it will not be wrong to place the beginning Hindu colonisation there at the beginning of, if not two or three centuries before, the Christian era.

The earliest Hindu kingdom in Sumatra is Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang). It was founded in or before the fourth century A.D. and rose to great eminence towards the close of the seventh century A.D. It had by that time conquered another Hindu kingdom named Malayu (modern Jambi) and established its political supremacy

over the neighbouring island of Banka. In 684 A.D. it was ruled over by a Buddhist king named Śrī-Jayanāśa (or Jayanāga). In 686 A.D. this king (or his successor) sent an expedition against Java and issued an interesting proclamation of which two copies, engraved on stone, have reached us.

It begins with an invocation to the gods who protect the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya. It holds out threats of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śrī-Vijaya, if they revolt or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt, against the suzerain authority. Punishment was to be meted out not only to actual rebels, but even to their family and clans. On the other hand, the people who would remain loyal to the government of Śrī-Vijaya, together with their clan and family, would be blessed with all sorts of blessings divine.

I-tsing tells us that Śrī-Vijaya was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and that the king of Śrī-Vijaya possessed trading ships sailing between India and Śrī-Vijaya. We also learn from his memoir that the city of Śrī-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China, and that there was a regular navigation between it and Kwan-Tung.

That Śrī-Vijaya was fast growing into an important naval and commercial power appears clearly from an inscription discovered at Ligor (Malay Peninsula). This inscription, dated in Śaka 697 (=775 A.D.), refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Śrī-Vijaya. He is said to be the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. It shows that the Buddhist king of Śrī-Vijaya had extended his political supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon, before 775 A.D.

The inscriptions thus give clear indication, in broad outline, of a purely aggressive policy pursued by the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya during the century 675-775 A.D. By 686 A.D. it had absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu, conquered the neighbouring island of Banka, and sent a military expedition to the powerful island kingdom of Java. Before a century was over, we find its power firmly established in the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese Annals state that several embassies came from Śrī-Vijaya to China during the period between 670 and 741 A.D.

4. BORNEO

Borneo is the largest island in the Malay archipelago, but it is little known and thinly populated. Its area is seven or eight times that of Java, but its population is only about three millions. The

island is covered wih dense forests and crossed by a series of mountain groups from the north-east to south-west.

The earliest evidence of the Hindu colonisation in Borneo is furnished by four Sanskrit inscriptions. These were discovered in 1879 in the district of Koti (Kutei), at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river, an important sea-port in old days. The inscriptions are engraved on stone pillars which were sacrificial pillars (*yūpa*) set up by Brahmans to commemorate the rich donations and sacrifices of king Mūlavarman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of king Kuṇḍuṅga (Kauṇḍinya). Mūlavarman performed a sacrifice called Bahu-Suvarṇakam (large quantity of gold) and made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brahmans in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.

These inscriptions have been referred to about 400 A.D. Thus there is no doubt that by the fourth century A.D., the Hindus had established kingdoms in the eastern part of Borneo. The inscriptions show the thorough-going nature of the Brahmanical religion in that locality. The Brahmans evidently formed an important element of the population, and the Brahmanical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at the court.

In addition to the antiquities at Muara Kaman described above, remains of ancient Hindu culture have also been found in other localities in east Borneo. The most notable among these is the cave of Kombeng situated considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river.

The cave consists of two chambers. In the back-chamber were found twelve sandstone images, pieces of carved stone, and a few half-decayed iron-wood beams. All these may be taken as the remains of a temple which were hurriedly secreted in the dark chamber of a cave, apparently for safety. That the images were brought from elsewhere is clearly indicated by the fact that most of them have a pin under the pedestal, evidently for fixing them in a niche. The images were both Buddhist and Brahmanical. The latter included those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Brahmā, Skanda and Mahākāla.

The antiquities secreted in the Kombeng cave must have been brought there for safety from plains or lower regions more exposed to a hostile attack. The original site of the temple was probably in the valley of the Mahakam river. The river undoubtedly played the chief part in the colonisation of east Borneo by the Hindus. A great river is a necessity in the early stages of colonisation by foreigners. In the first place, its junction with the sea serves as a good sea-port and trading centre, which receives goods from without and distributes them in the interior, and, by the reverse process, collects articles from inland and ships them to foreign lands.

Secondly, the foreign colonists, having secured a firm footing in the port, find in the river an excellent, and in many cases the only safe, means of communication with the interior, as a preliminary stage to the spread of their power and influence along its course.

But the Mahakam river was not the only one in Borneo to play such an important rôle in the early colonisation of the country by the Hindus. Another river, the Kapuas, offered the same facilities for colonisation of western Borneo. At various places on or near the bank of this river, we come across archeological remains of the Hindu period, which, taken together, imply a flourishing period of Hindu colonisation of fairly long duration. It is thus evident that Hindu colonists settled in different parts of Borneo during the early centuries of the Christian era.

5. BALI

The island of Bali is situated to the east of Java, separated from it by a narrow strait, about a mile and a half wide. Its dimensions are quite small. Its extreme length is 93, and extreme breadth, about 50 miles. Its area is estimated to be 2,095 square miles, and its population 946,387.

A chain of volcanic mountains, apparently a continuation of that of Java, runs throughout the island from west to east, leaving fertile valleys and plains on both sides.

The coast-line is difficult of approach and has but one or two harbours. There are numerous rivers, but they are small, and navigable, only for small vessels, up to the reach of the tide. The island abounds in lakes at high elevation, which supply abandant means of irrigation. The land is fertile, and the whole country has the appearance of a beautiful garden.

The island of Bali possesses the unique distinction of being the only colony of the ancient Hindus which still retains its old culture and civilisation, at least to a considerable extent. Islam has failed to penetrate into this island, and it still affords a unique opportunity to study Hinduism as it was modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago.

The Chinese History of the Liang dynasty (502-556 A.D.) contains the earliest account of P'o-li, the Chinese name for Bali. It gives us the following interesting account of the king of the country :

"The king's family name is Kauṇḍinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Śuddhodana was a daughter of his country.

"The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body; on his

head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various precious stones (*sapta ratna* or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on a silver foot-stool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding chowries of white feathers or fans of peacock-feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood, is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers, and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him."

The above account leaves no doubt that the island of Bali was the seat of a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Hindu colonists who professed Buddhism. The kingdom existed as early as the sixth century A.D. For we are told that in 518 A.D., the king sent an envoy to China.

I-tsing enumerates Bali as one of the 'islands of the Southern Sea where the Mūlasarvāstivāda-nikāya has been almost universally adopted.' The prevalence of Buddhism in Bali is hinted at in the earliest Chinese records dating from the sixth century A.D. It may thus be fairly inferred that Buddhism had a firm footing in the island in the early centuries of Hindu colonisation.

6. HINDU CIVILISATION IN SUVARṆADVĪPA UP TO THE END OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.

It seems almost to be a universal law, that when an inferior civilisation comes into contact with a superior one, it gradually tends to be merged into the latter, the rate and the exent of this process being determined solely by the capacity of the one to assimilate, and of the other to absorb. When the Hindus first settled in Suvarṇabhūmi and came into close association with her peoples, this process immediately set in, and produced the inevitable result.

The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered at Borneo, Java and Malay Peninsula lead to the conclusion that the language, literature, religion, and political and social institutions of India made a thorough conquest of these far-off lands, and, to a great extent, eliminated or absorbed the native elements in these respects.

The Kutei inscriptions of Mūlavarman, as noted above, hold out before us a court and a society thoroughly saturated with Hindu culture. The inscriptions discovered in western Java also present before us a strongly Hinduized society and court. We have reference to Hindu gods like Vishṇu and Indra, and Airāvata, the elephant of Indra. The Indian months and attendant astronomical details, and Indian system of measurement of distance are quite

familiar to the soil. Besides in the river-names Chandrabhāgā and Gomatī we have the beginnings of that familiar practice of transplating Indian geographical names to the new colonies.

The images of various gods and goddesses discovered in Borneo and Malay Peninsula corroborate the evidence of the inscriptions. As already noted above, the images of Vishṇu, Brahmā, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Skanda and Mahākāla have been found in Borneo, and those of Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Nandī in the Malay Peninsula. The thorough preponderance of the Puranik form of Hindu religion is also proved by the remains at Tuk Mas in Java. Here we get the usual attributes of Vishṇu and Śiva, *viz.* the Śaṁkha (conch-shell), Chakra (wheel), Gadā (mace), and Padma (lotus) of the former, and the Triśūla (trident) of the latter. Besides, the inscription refers to the sanctity of the Ganges.

The images and inscriptions prove that in addition to Brahmanical religion Buddhism had also made its influence felt in these regions. Taken collectively, the inscriptions prove that the Sanskrit language and literature were highly cultivated. Most of the records are written in good and almost flawless Sanskrit. Indian scripts were adopted everywhere. The images show the thorough-going influence of Indian Art.

The archæological evidence is corroborated and supplemented by the writings of the Chinese. First of all, we have the express statement of Fa-hien that Brahmanism was flourishing in Yavadvīpa, and that there was very little trace of Buddhism. The 200 merchants who boarded the vessel along with Fa-hien were all followers of Brahmanical religion. This statement may be taken to imply that trade and commerce were still the chief stimulus to Indian colonisation. As the merchants belonged mostly to Brahmanical religion, we get an explanation of its preponderance over Buddhism in the Archipelago.

But that Buddhism soon made its influence felt in Java appears clearly from the story of Guṇavarman, preserved in a Chinese work compiled in A.D. 519. Guṇavarman, a prince of Kashmir (Ki-pin), was of a religious mood from his boyhood. When he was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died without issue and the throne was offered to him. But he rejected the offer and went to Ceylon. Later he proceeded to Java and converted the queen-mother to Buddhism. Gradually the king, too, was persuaded by his mother to adopt the same faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops and the king asked Guṇavarman whether it would be contrary to the Buddhist law if he fought against his enemy. Guṇavarman replied that it was the duty of everybody to punish the robbers. The king then went to fight and obtained a great

victory. Gradually the Buddhist religion was spread throughout the country. The king now wished to take to the life of a monk, but was dissuaded from this course by his ministers, on the express condition, that henceforth no living creatures should be killed throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom.

The name and fame of Guṇavarman had now spread in all directions. In A.D. 424 the Chinese monks requested their emperor to invite Guṇavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese emperor sent messengers to Guṇavarman and the king of Java. Guṇavarman embarked on a vessel, owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin, and reached Nankin in A.D. 431. A few months later he died at the age of sixty-five.

The story of Guṇavarman shows how Buddhism was introduced and then gradually took root in Java in the fifth century A.D. The accounts left by I-tsing leave no doubt that towards the close of the seventh century A.D. Buddhism had spread over other regions. On his way to India, the pilgrim halted in Śrī-Vijaya for six months, and learnt the Śabdavidyā (Sanskrit Grammar). During his return journey also he stopped at Śrī-Vijaya, and after a short stay in China, he again returned to the same place. Here he was engaged in copying and translating the voluminous Buddhist texts which he had brought with him from India. Why he chose this place for his work is best explained in his own words :

"Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Śrī-Vijaya Buddhist priests number more than 1,000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in India; the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practise the proper rules and then proceed to India."

It is thus evident that in the seventh century Buddhism and Buddhist literature had their votaries in Suvarṇadvīpa and there were in this region important centres of Indian learning and culture which attracted foreigners. The importance of Śrī-Vijaya in this respect deserves, however, more than a passing notice. Apart from its position as a great centre of Buddhism, it merits distinction as the earliest seat of that Mahāyāna sect which was destined ultimately to play such a leading part in the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa. Several eminent Indian Buddhists visited this region and helped to spread there the new developments in Buddhism. For the seventh century A.D. we have a distinguished example in Dharmapāla, an inhabitant of Kāñchī, and a Professor at Nālandā, who visited Suvarṇadvīpa. Early in the eighth century A.D., Vajrabodhi, a South Indian monk, went from Ceylon to China, stopping for five months at Śrī-Vijaya.

He and his disciple Amoghavajra, who accompanied him, were teachers of Tantrik cult, and are credited with its introduction in China.

The Chinese accounts and stories like those of Guṇavarman, Dharmapāla, and Vajrabodhi clearly indicate that there was a regular intercourse between India and Suvarṇadvīpa. A story told in connection with Lang-ga-su, quoted above, shows that there was even social intercourse between the two. A brother of the king, being expelled from the kingdom, betook himself to India and married the eldest daughter of the ruler of that country. Indeed, everything indicates a regular, active, and familiar intercourse between India and her colonies.

In addition to religion, the influence of Hindu civilisation is also clearly marked in the political and social ideas and the system of administration. We may refer in this connection to a state called Tan-Tan, the exact location of which it is difficult to determine. This kingdom sent ambassadors to China in 530, 535, and 666 A.D. We get the following account in the Chinese annals:

"The family name of its king was Kchsatriya (Kshatriya) and his personal name Silingkia (Śriṅga). He daily attends to business and has eight great ministers, called the "Eight Seats," all chosen from among the Brāhmaṇas. The king rubs his body with perfumes, wears a very high hat and a necklace of different kinds of jewels. He is clothed in muslin and shod with leather slippers. For short distances he rides in a carriage, but for long distances he mounts an elephant. In war they always blow conches and beat drums."

The following customs of Ka-la, referred to by the Chinese, are also Indian in origin:

"When they marry they give no other presents than areca-nuts, sometimes as many as two hundred trays. The wife enters the family of her husband. Their musical instruments are a kind of guitar, a transversal flute, copper cymbals, and iron drums. Their dead are burned, the ashes put into a golden jar and sunk into the sea."

The Indian colonists in the Far East transplanted to their lands of adoption the cultural ideas with which they were imbued at home. Indeed, even now, when the political supremacy of the Indians in those far-off lands is merely a dream of the past, they contain unmistakable traces of the Indian religion and its handmaid, art and architecture.

The study of Indian religion, as developed in these countries, is one of profound interest. Although it is a familiar story, how Buddhism made extensive conquests in foreign lands, Hinduism is generally believed never to have made its influence felt outside the boundaries of India. Yet it is precisely the conservative form of Brahmanical religion that mostly prevailed in these colonies (except Burma and Siam) and dominated the entire development of Hindu civilisation.

The Brahmanical religion that flourished in these colonies was not the Vedic religion of old but the neo-Brahmanical religion that was evolved in India almost at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism. The essential characteristic of this new religion was its sectarian character, the chief God being recognised as either Brahmā, Vishṇu or Śiva. The worship of a multiplicity of gods which prevailed in Vedic times was replaced by absolute faith and devotion to one personal God. Gradually the new faith inspired a new literature, the Purāṇas, and ushered in elaborate rituals and ceremonies. We find an echo of the pomp and grandeur of Buddhism in the magnificent temples erected to Vishṇu, Śiva and the hosts of gods associated with them. These gods formed the centre of new philosophical speculations and hosts of myths and legends, and on them was lavished the wealth and luxury of an opulent people.

In course of time the sectarian Brahmanical religion triumphed over Buddhism which for long played a dominant part in India. But although worsted in the struggle Buddhism maintained its existence for centuries to come and was gradually assimilated to the Brahmanical religion. Thus the religious history of India during the first thousand years of the Christian era presented a new spectacle, the gradual rise of the new sects and the corresponding decline of the once triumphant Buddhist religion.

All these characteristic features can be traced in minute detail in the religious history of the Indian colonies in Suvarṇabhūmi with the help of the large number of inscriptions, religious texts and images of deities that are still to be found in that far-off land.

Of the two Brahmanical sects Śaivism was by far the more influential and exercised a profound influence on the whole course of religious development. The hold of the Vishṇuites and the Buddhists was poor in comparison. But there is no trace of any religious struggle. On the other hand we have abundant evidence of mutual good will and attempts at reconciliation between the different sects.

The Brahmanical religion that flourished in these regions was not the Vedic religion of old but the new Brahmanical religion that was evolved in India almost at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism. The essential characteristic of this new religion was the sectarian character, in which God was conceived as either Brahma, Vishnu or Siva. The worship of a multitude of gods which prevailed in Vedic times was replaced by absolute faith and devotion to one personal God. Gradually the new faith inspired a new literature, the Purāṇas, and indulged in elaborate rituals and ceremonies. We find an echo of the pomp and grandeur of Buddhism in the magnificent temples erected to Vishnu, Siva and the hosts of gods associated with them. These gods formed the centre of new philosophical speculations and hosts of myths and legends, and on them was lavished the wealth and luxury of an opulent people.

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CHAPTER II

THE ŚAILENDRAS

1. The Śailendra Empire

In the eighth century A.D. most of the small states in Suvarṇadvīpa formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire, at least for the first four centuries, belonged to the Śailendra dynasty, and we may, therefore, call it the Śailendra empire. Inscriptions found in Java and Malay Peninsula prove that the Śailendras established their authority in Malay Peninsula in the eighth century A.D. They wrested the Ligor region from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya sometime after 775 A.D., and established their authority in Java by 782 A.D.

Thus during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. the Hindu kingdoms of Sumatra, Java, and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to, or at least feel the weight of, this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one. For the first time in its history, Suvarṇadvīpa, or the greater part of it, achieved a political unity as integral parts of an empire, and we shall see later, how this empire rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before. But the Śailendras did more than this. They introduced a new type of culture. The new vigour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and the highly developed art which produced such splendid monuments as Chaṇḍi Kalasan and Barabuḍur in Java, may be mainly attributed to their patronage. The introduction of a new kind of alphabet, which has been called the Pre-Nāgarī script, and the adoption of a new name Kalinga for Malayasia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source.

Yet, strangely enough, we have as yet no definite knowledge of the chief seat of authority of the Śailendras. It was once generally held that they were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya (in Sumatra), and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula. But there are far better grounds for the belief that the original seat of authority of the Śailendras was either in Java or in Malay Peninsula. For the present the question must be left open.

But whatever might have been the original seat of the Śailendras, there is no doubt that from the eighth century A.D. they were the dominant political power in Suvarṇadvīpa. The Śailendra empire is referred to by various Arab writers, who designate it as Zābag, Zābaj, or the empire of Mahārāja, and describe its wealth and grandeur in glowing terms. It is quite clear from these accounts that the authority of the king of Zābag extended over nearly the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa, and possibly also for some time over the two mighty Hindu kingdoms in Suvarṇabhūmi, *viz.*, Kambuja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

The fleet of Java raided more than once the distant coast of Champā during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Although definite evidence is wanting, there are reasons to believe that the successive naval raids overthrew the royal dynasty of Champā. But even if it were so, the success was a shortlived one. For a new dynasty soon established itself in Champā. On the whole, therefore, while there is nothing to show that the fleet of Java gained any permanent material success in Champā, the raids indicate their power, prestige, and daring nature. As Java was at that time either included within the empire of the Śailendras, or ruled by a member of the same dynasty, we are justified in regarding the naval raids as ultimately emanating from the empire of the Śailendras.

The emergence of the Śailendras as the leading naval power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. The Arab merchant Sulayman narrates a romantic story of the conquest of Kambuja by the Śailendra king and concludes by saying that "this incident raised the king (of Zābag) in the estimation of the rulers of India and China."

The empire of the Śailendras reached the high-water mark of its greatness and glory in the eighth century A.D. The following century saw the beginning of the inevitable decline. By the middle of the ninth century A.D., their supremacy was successfully challenged by the two great neighbouring states of Kambuja and Java. The Kambuja king Jayavarman II (802-854 A.D.) threw off the yoke of the Śailendras, and there is no evidence that the latter had any pretension of supremacy over that kingdom after Jayavarman's time. About the same time, the Śailendras lost their hold on Java. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the circumstances which led to the loss of the kingdom some time before 879 A.D.

The Śailendra Emperors had intimate relations with the Pāla Emperors of Bengal. As early as 782 A.D., we find Kumāraghosha, an inhabitant of Bengal, as the royal preceptor (*guru*) of the Śailendra kings who were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. An

inscription on a copper-plate found at Nālandā, in Behar, dated about the middle of the ninth century A.D., records that the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa and son of Samarāgravīra, built a monastery at Nālandā, and at his request the Pāla Emperor Devapāla granted five villages for defraying the expenses of the monastery.

In spite of the loss of Cambodia and Java, the Śailendra empire retained its position as a great power, and, to the outside world, it was still the greatest political power in Indonesia.

In addition to the Nālandā copper-plate, which describes the Śailendras as rulers of Suvarṇadvīpa, our knowledge of them about this period is derived from the accounts left by Arab writers, who, as already remarked, refer to their country as Zābag or Zābaj. Ibn Khordadzbeh (844-848) says that the king of Zābag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of this revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold per day, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him, and the owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.

But the most detailed account of Zābag is furnished by Abu Zayd Hasan who published, about A.D. 916, the account originally written by Sulayman in 851 A.D., with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zābag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows :—

"The distance between Zābag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

"The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) Parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (=Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) Parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Mahārāja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

"The Mahārāja exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

"There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank, and the remnant is distributed among the poor."

Mas'udi (943 A.D.) remarks :—

"In the bay of Champā, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil."

Alberuni (c. 1030 A.D.) says :—

"The eastern islands in this ocean which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa *i.e.* the gold islands. . . . The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country."

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, called Suvarṇadvīpa by the Hindus, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrī-Vijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San-fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

The detailed Chinese accounts testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D.

2. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ŚAILENDRAS AND THE CHOLAS

In the eleventh century A.D., the one outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras, known to us, is a long-drawn struggle with the powerful Chola rulers of South India.

The Choḷa state was one of the three kingdoms in South India which flourished from a hoary antiquity. It extended along the Coromandel coast, and its traditional boundaries were the Pennar river in the north, the Southern Vellaru river on the south, and the borders of Coorg on the west. The rise of the Pallavas within this area kept the Cholas in check for a long time. But the Cholas re-asserted their supremacy towards the close of the ninth century A.D. With the accession of Parāntaka I in 907 A.D., the Cholas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories Rājarāja the Great (985-1014 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rājendra Chola (1014-1044 A.D.) raised the Chola

power to its climax, and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north.

The Cholas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia. At first there existed friendly relations between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers. We learn from a Chola Inscription that the Śailendra king Chūḍāmaṇivarman commenced the construction of a Buddhist *Vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭana, modern Negapatam, in or shortly before the 21st year of Rājarāja, when a village was granted by the Chola king for its upkeep. King Chūḍāmaṇivarman, however, died shortly after, and the *Vihāra* was completed by his son and successor Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman.

This interesting record naturally recalls the Nālandā copper-plate of the time of Devapāla. In both cases an Indian king grants villages to a Buddhist sanctuary, erected in India by a Śailendra king. Both furnish us with names of Śailendra kings not known from indigenous sources.

Fortunately the Chola inscription can be precisely dated, for the 21st year of Rājarāja falls in 1005 A.D. We thus come to know that king Chūḍāmaṇivarman was on the throne in 1005 A.D., and was succeeded shortly after by his son Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman. So the relations between the Chola and Śailendra kings were quite friendly at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D. There were also commercial relations between the two countries.

The friendly relations between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers did not last long. In a few years hostilities broke out, and Rājendra Chola sent a naval expedition against his mighty adversary beyond the sea. The details preserved in the Chola records leave no doubt that the expedition was crowned with brilliant success, and various parts of the empire of the Śailendras were reduced by the mighty Chola emperor.

It appears that the chief stronghold of the Śailendra power at this time was Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (Kedda in Malay Peninsula) and they also exercised suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya and other smaller states, in Sumatra, Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands. Rājendra Chola defeated the Śailendra king, conquered ten or eleven of these states specifically named in the records, and concluded the campaign by taking Kaḍāra itself.

Rājendra Chola's conquests extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra, and the central and southern parts of Malay Peninsula, and included the two capital cities Kaṭāha and Śrī-Vijaya. That the story of this victory is not merely an imagination of the court-poets, but based on facts, is proved, beyond all doubt, by the detailed references to the vassal

states. It is interesting to note that many of these states are included in the Śailendra empire by later Chinese authorities.

This great catastrophe befell the Śailendra empire some time about 1025 A.D., but the hostility broke out much earlier, and as early as 1017-18 A.D., or some time before it, a Chola naval expedition was sent against Katāha.

Although it is impossible now to ascertain exactly the cause of either the outbreak of hostility, or the complete collapse of the Śailendra power, reference may be made to at least some important factors which contributed to the one or the other. According to the Chola records, the conquest of Kaliṅga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganges was completed before the oversea expedition was sent. The mastery over the ports of Kaliṅga and Bengal gave the Chola king well-equipped ships and sailors, accustomed to voyage in the very regions which he wanted to conquer. The naval resources of the whole of the eastern cost of India were thus concentrated in the hands of Rājendra Chola, and it was enough to tempt a man to get possession of the territory, which served as the meeting ground of the trade and commerce between India and the western countries on the one hand, and the countries of the Far East on the other. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia, and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the oversea expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. But it is the conquest of the eastern coastal regions of India that alone brought such a scheme within the range of practical politics.

The Śailendra kings evidently asserted independence after the death of Rājendra Chola. But Vīrarājendra, the Chola king (1063-70 A.D.), claims to have conquered Kaḍāra and given it back to its king who paid homage to him. Thus in spite of the arduous nature of the task, the Chola Emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire for nearly half a century. But at last amity was established between the two powers before 1090 A.D. For in that year the Chola king Kulottunga, at the request of the king of Kaḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rāja-vidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called Śailendra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra (*i.e.*, the one established by king Chūḍā-maṇivarman as referred to above).

3. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ŚAILENDRA EMPIRE

The long-drawn struggle with the Cholas, which continued throughout the eleventh century A.D., and at one time threatened utter destruction to the Śailendras, thus ended in a draw.

After fruitless efforts of a century, the Cholas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Śailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position.

But, although we can definitely trace the existence of the kingdom for nearly three centuries more, when it was finally destroyed, the Śailendra dynasty passes from our view. After the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., we hear no more of that powerful ruling family that dominated Suvarṇadvīpa since the end of the eighth century A.D. This does not, of course, mean that they vanished, or even ceased to reign, but the fact is that we do not possess any definite information of them. For all we know, they might have still continued to rule over the kingdom.

The continuity of the kingdom is, however, clearly attested by the Chinese, and, perhaps also by the Arab accounts, which still refer to the prowess of San-fo-tsi and Zābag, the Chinese and Arabic names, respectively, of the mighty empire.

We possess an interesting Chinese account of this kingdom in the twelfth century A.D., according to which, San-fo-tsi was master of the Straits of Malacca and thus controlled the maritime trade between China and the western countries. San-fo-tsi itself was a great centre of trade, and fourteen states in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula were dependent upon it. This account of the great power of San-fo-tsi is corroborated by the history of its king Chandrabhānu who ruled in 1230 A.D. The detailed account as given in the Ceylonese Chronicle Chullavaṁsa may be summarised as follows :—

> "In the eleventh year of the reign of king Parākramabāhu II of Ceylon, a king of Jāvaka, called Chandrabhānu, landed with an army at Kakkhalā, on the pretext that they were Buddhists and therefore came on a peaceful mission. The soldiers of Jāvaka, who used poisoned arrows, treacherously occupied the passages across the rivers, and having defeated all those who opposed them, devastated the whole of Ceylon. But the regent Vīrabāhu defeated them in several battles and forced them to withdraw from the land. A few years later, king Chandrabhānu again landed at Mahātīrtha, and his army was, on this occasion, reinforced by a large number of Pāṇḍya, Chola, and other Tamil soldiers. After some initial successes the Jāvaka army was surrounded and completely defeated by the Ceylonese troops under Vīrabhāhu. King Chandrabhānu somehow fled with his life, leaving behind his family and treasures in the hands of the victorious enemy. The two invasions of Chandrabhānu probably took place in A.D. 1236 and 1256."

The very fact that Chandrabhānu could lead a successful expedition against distant Ceylon indicates the power of his kingdom.

But Chandrabhānu's invasion of Ceylon was an act of extreme imprudence, and had the most regrettable consequences. The two expeditions to the distant island must have taxed the strength of the Jāvaka kingdom to the utmost, and the disastrous end of the second expedition weakened its prestige and authority beyond recovery.

Some time before 1264 A.D. Chandrabhānu was defeated and killed by the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya. The fact that the Pāṇḍya king boasts also of having conquered Ceylon, seems to connect the Ceylonese expedition of Chandrabhānu with his defeat and death at the hands of Jaṭāvarman. It may be recalled that during his second expedition against that island, Chandrabhānu was helped by troops from Chola and Pāṇḍya countries. Perhaps he made an alliance with these two powers and organised a joint expedition against Ceylon. But as in many other similar allied expeditions, it was dissolved on the failure of the project, and then Vīra-Pāṇḍya presumably took advantage of the helpless situation of Chandrabhānu and turned against him.

The catastrophic end of Chandrabhānu completed the disruption and gave a unique opportunity to the Javanese king Kṛitanagara to extend his authority over the dominions of the Śailendras. He conquered Pahang in Malay Peninsula which was a vassal state of San-fo-tsi. He also sent an expedition against Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D., and converted it into a separate state under his own authority. Thus Java planted important outposts in the very heart of the empire of San-fo-tsi, from which she could gradually extend her power and authority in all directions (See p. 48).

For the time being, however, these calculations were upset by the tragic end of Kṛitanagara and the fall of his kingdom. The Javanese army of occupation was withdrawn from Malayu, and therewith the Javanese authority vanished from the land. But San-fo-tsi, which was not strong enough to resist the Javanese encroachments, was yet too weak to take advantage of this opportunity to re-assert its authority over Malayu. Malayu remained an independent kingdom and soon became a powerful rival of San-fo-tsi.

The fact is that San-fo-tsi had not only to reckon with the growing menace from the side of Java, but also to contend with another great military power, the Thai, who had overrun Siam towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D., and conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. Hemmed in between the rising power of the Thais in the north and the growing kingdom of Malayu in the south, the discomfiture of San-fo-tsi was complete. She lost her position of supremacy and sank into a local power.

Henceforth her possession in the Malay Peninsula formed a bone of contention between Malayu and Siam.

San-fo-tsi continued this inglorious existence for nearly a century, and the Chinese accounts refer to its conquest by Java some time before 1377 A.D. Its condition in 1397 A.D. is thus described in a Chinese History of the Ming Dynasty :—

"At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi and changed its name to Ku-Kang. When San-fo-tsi went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton."

In other words, a Chinese pirate set himself up as a king in a part at least of what was once the flourishing kingdom of the Śailendras. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. Java was able to destory the old kingdom, but could not build up a new one in its place. Some have even suggested that the destruction of San-fo-tsi was a deliberate act on the part of Java. In order to wipe off from the face of the earth a power that had been in the past, and might be in future, a great rival in political and economic spheres, she intentionally and systematically laid waste the country, which afterwards became a stronghold of Chinese adventurers.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San-fo-tsi passes from our view. Kaḍāram (Keddah) continued as a petty state and the local annals refer to seven Hindu rulers of the State, the last of whom adopted Islam in 1474 A.D.

[illegible] has given way to the [illegible] formed a bone of contention between Majapahit and Siam.

Since he conquered this kingdom [illegible] coming [illegible] some time before 1377 A.D. The conditions in 1397 A.D. are thus described in a Chinese History of the Ming Dynasty:

[illegible]

This [illegible] the Chinese [illegible] himself [illegible] in a [illegible] at least [illegible] the [illegible] of the inhabitants. This was no doubt due to the weakness of Java. She was able to destroy the old kingdom, but could not build up a new one in its place. [illegible]

From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. [illegible] the local [illegible] Hindu [illegible] adopted Islam in 1414 A.D.

BOOK II

CHAPTER III

JAVA

1. The Kingdom of Matarām

Reference has been made above to an important Hindu kingdom in Western Java, under king Pūrṇavarman, in the fifth or sixth century A.D. For the next two or three hundred years we have no definite information regarding the political history of the country. But about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. a powerful kingdom was founded in Central Java. Its capital was probably at Matarām which nearly nine hundred years later gave the name to a powerful Muslim principality in Java. The old Hindu kingdom of Matarām was founded by king Sannāha who is said to have ruled righteously like Manu for a long time. He died some time before 732 A.D., and was succeeded by Sañjaya, who was a very powerful king and a great conqueror. After conquering the whole of Java and Bali, he is said to have led expeditions to Sumatra, Cambodia and other lands beyond the sea.

Not long after the death of Sañjaya Central Java was conquered by the Śailendras. The exact status and position of the royal dynasty founded by Sañjaya during the period of Śailendra supremacy cannot be determined. It appears that the rulers of Matarām continued to rule from a capital about 150 miles further towards the east. But before the close of the ninth century A.D. the old capital of the kingdom was recovered by them. Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu who reigned at least from A.D. 898 to 910 certainly ruled both over Central and Eastern Java.

Contemporary inscriptions leave no doubt that Central Java continued to be the chief seat of culture and political authority throughout the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. But Eastern Java now gradually comes into prominence, due no doubt to the long residence of the Javanese kings in the east during the dominance of the Śailendra rulers in the central region.

Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu was succeeded, in or before 915 A.D., by Dakshottama who had the titles Vajra-bāhu and Pratipaksha-kshaya. He and his two successors Tulodong and Wawa ruled over both Central and Eastern Java. But Wawa, who ruled in A.D. 927, may be regarded as the last ruler of the kingdom of Matarām which was founded two centuries ago.

With the accession of Sindok, some time between A.D. 927 and 929, the centre of political authority definitely, and finally (so far as the Hindu period is concerned), passed to Eastern Java. At the same time we notice almost a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in Central Java. The circumstances that brought about these two important changes are not known to us. Some have attributed them to a volcanic eruption or violent epidemic in Central Java which the superstitious people might regard as a divine manifestation to the effect that Central Java should no longer be inhabited. Some attribute the change to a deliberate policy adopted by the kings of Java to guard against the danger of an invasion by the Śailendras. The Śailendra kings who were still ruling in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula undoubtedly cherished the ambition of reconquering the lost territories. It was easy for their fleet to transport an army to Central Java within a comparatively short time. All these might have induced the kings of Java not only to shift their seat of authority to the east, but deliberately to leave Central Java to its fate, so that it would soon be reduced to a no-man's land and serve as a protection against the possible invasion of the Śailendra kings from that side.

This view satisfactorily explains the removal of the seat of authority to the east, but it would be too much to believe that the kings of Java would deliberately sacrifice a flourishing region merely at the possibility of a foreign invasion. Nor is it necessary to resort to such a hypothesis. As we have seen above, the kingdom of Matarām continued to exist from the middle of the eighth century. During the period of Śailendra supremacy it shifted its seat of authority towards the east. Although it recovered Central Java by the middle of the ninth century A.D., and probably the official capital was once more formally restored, there is no doubt that the political centre of gravity, if we might use the expression, still remained in the east. This might be partly an effect of the first change, and partly the result of a deliberate policy of guarding against the Śailendra invasion as suggested above, but the fact admits of no doubt. The culture and civilisation of Central Java continued for nearly a century after this, but gradually the shifting of political authority produced its natural effect. Slowly but steadily the flow of Javanese life and culture followed the political

change, and Central Java lost political importance as well as cultural pre-eminence. Some unknown reasons, such as a volcanic eruption, outbreak of an epidemic, or the ravages by the fleet of the Śailendras might have hastened the progress of decay, but the decay itself had become inevitable on account of the transfer of the seat of authority towards the east.

But whatever may be the reasons, the broad fact remains that from the middle of the tenth century A.D., the Hindu culture and civilisation began to lose its hold in Central Java, as was the case in Western Java about five hundred years before. Henceforth the political centre shifted to Eastern Java, which remained, for another period of five hundred years, the only stronghold of Hindu culture and civilisation.

2. THE RISE OF EASTERN JAVA

Siṇḍok, the first ruler in Eastern Java, is a great name in Javanese history, and for centuries the later kings were eager to trace their relationship with him. Yet we are unaware of any great achievements that may be set to his credit. He is not even definitely known as the founder of a new dynasty, and seems to have gained the throne by ordinary rules of succession. But there must have been some special reason, unknown to us at present, why his name was singled out by posterity and he was regarded as the remote ancestor of a long line of Javanese kings.

The ceremonial name which Siṇḍok assumed at the time of coronation was Śrī-Īśāna-Vikrama Dharmottuṅgadeva. He ascended the throne in *c.* 929 A.D., and ruled for nearly twenty years, his last known date being 947 A.D. Siṇḍok was succeeded by his daughter, who ruled as queen Śrī-Īśānatuṅggavijayā. Īśānatuṅggavijayā was married to king Śrī-Lokapāla, and the issue of this marriage was king Śrī-Makuṭavaṁśavardhana.

King Makuṭavaṁśavardhana had a daughter Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatnī. She was married to Udayana, and they had a son named Airlangga. Airlangga was married to the daughter of Dharmavaṁśa, king of East Java, and possibly the successor of Makuṭavaṁśavardhana. Bali was at that time under the political authority of Java, and Udayana and Mahendradattā were ruling the island on behalf of the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa.

The Balinese records of Udayana and Mahendradattā fall between 989 and 1001 A.D., while the name of the former alone appears in records dated 1011 and 1022 A.D. It would thus appear

that Mahendradattā died some time between 1001 and 1011 A.D., and Udayana alone ruled from that time.

King Dharmavaṁśa ruled in Java towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. In 992 A.D., he sent an envoy to China and an account of it is preserved in the Chinese history. This account clearly shows that Java was not in touch with China for a long period. The embassy to China may, therefore, be taken to indicate a new epoch in the foreign policy of Java, when after a long life of isolation, she was again renewing her diplomatic intercourse with her neighbours. The imposition of political supremacy over Bali, referred to above, shows that she had begun to pursue a policy of aggressive imperialism. After the conquest of Bali she evidently turned her attention to her neighbours, the Śailendras. The struggle with the Śailendras had probably begun a long time before 990 A.D., when the kingdom of San-fo-tsi itself was invaded by Java. That kingdom was reduced to such straits that its envoy even sought the aid of the Chinese emperor against Java. Possibly the Javanese embassy of 992 A.D. was sent to counteract the activity of the enemy in that direction. In any case there can be hardly any doubt that Java took the offensive and gained great success at about 990 A.D. Thus under king Dharmavaṁśa the international glory and prestige of Java were revived towards the close of the tenth century A.D.

But the success of the king was short-lived. By 1003 A.D., the Śailendra king had evidently hurled back the invasion of Java and was able to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from the latter.

Within four years of this a great catastrophe befell Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom. The exact nature of this catastrophe is not known to us, but we learn from a record that in 1006 A.D. Java was destroyed by a great calamity (*pralaya*) which overwhelmed it like a sea. 'Then the flourishing capital city, which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment, was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in 1007 A.D.'

It has been suggested that the reference is to a natural calamity like a volcanic eruption. But it is more likely that the catastrophe was caused by the invasion of a hostile king. Who this king was, it is difficult to say.

But whoever the enemy may be, his efforts were eminently successful, and the disruption of Java was complete. King Dharmavaṁśa died, and his palace and kingdom perished with him. His young son-in-law, Airlangga, then only sixteen years old, took shelter in the forest, accompanied by only a few faithful followers. Being pursued by the enemy they shut themselves up in a small

monastery, clothed themselves in bark of trees, and lived on food supplied by monks and hermits. Three years passed in this way. Evidently the partisans of Dharmavaṁśa came to know of Airlangga's whereabouts. In 1010 some people, including eminent Brahmans, met him with a request to assume the royal authority. He was then acclaimed as the legitimate king by the partisans of Dharmavaṁśa. By 1019 A.D. Airlangga made himself master of the small territory in the neighbourhood of Pasuruhan, and the ceremony of his consecration by the revered priests of Buddhist, Śaiva, and Brahmanic faith was held in that year, when he assumed the royal name of Śrī-Lokeśvara Dharmavaṁśa Airlangga Ananta-Vikramottuṅgadeva.

By 1028 A.D. Airlangga felt powerful enough to make a bold bid for the lost kingdom. He had to fight with a number of kings during the first four years. Some of them submitted to his authority and those that refused to do so were either killed or expelled.

The king of Vengker, a small state in the modern district of Madiun, with its capital at Setana, now remained the only powerful foe of Airlangga. Already in 1030 A.D. Airlangga had inflicted a defeat upon this enemy. Although it was not of a decisive character, it forced Vijaya, king of Vengker, to remain on the defensive and left Airlangga free to reckon with his other powerful enemies. In 1035 Airlangga led an expedition against Vengker on a large scale, and gained a great victory. Two months later Vijaya was imprisoned by his own troops and killed. This, we are told, was due to the diplomatic move of Airlangga, which he learnt from the book of Vishṇugupta (Kauṭilya). With the fall of Vengker, the war of restoration came to an end, and Airlangga became the undisputed master of Java.

During Airlangga's reign Java came into contact with foreign lands. His records contain a long list of foreign peoples who used to come to Java for purposes of trade or other peaceful pursuits of life. The list includes Kling, Singhala, Dravida, Karṇāṭaka, Champā, and Kmir which may be easily identified as Kaliṅga, Ceylon, Chola country, Kanara in south India, Annam and Kambuja.

An inscription informs us that the Brantas river burst its banks and caused great havoc when Airlangga built a dam to stop it. It is interesting to note that even irrigation works undertaken in the nineteenth century have profited by this dam built by Airlangga. The same inscription informs us that the work of Airlangga caused great joy to the foreign merchants and captains of ships who thronged the port at the mouth of the Brantas river. This was either Surabaya or a former port in its immediate neighbourhood which

played the same role as Surabaya does now. From another inscription, we come to know of another sea-port at or near modern Tuban. All these indicate that maritime trade and commerce flourished in Java during the reign of Airlangga.

According to a later Javanese tradition, Airlangga retired from the world in his old age and lived the life of an ascetic. With the adoption of an ascetic life, king Airlangga passes from our view, and we do not know anything about his last days. There is no doubt that his career was one of the most interesting in the history of Java. The various phases of life through which he passed ever since he was married, at the age of 16, mark him out as a striking personality. He was indeed a hero, in the arts of war as well as in those of peace.

Airlangga was regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, and was cremated at Belahan, where a fine statue of Vishṇu on Garuḍa has been found. The figure of Vishṇu is a beautiful piece of sculpture, and we can probably see in it the actual portrait of the famous king who passed such an eventful life. We may also infer from it that the art of sculpture flourished highly during the reign of Airlangga. That the king was a patron of literature, too, appears clearly from the fact that the famous old-Javanese *kāvya,* Arjuna-vivāha, the first book of its kind, was written under his patronage by poet Kaṇva.

3. THE KINGDOM OF KAḌIRI

Before his death Airlangga had divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. This partition of the kingdom gave rise to two states in Eastern Java which continued to divide the country for a pretty long time. It is, no doubt, a matter of surprise and regret, that Airlangga, who had experienced more than anybody else the evils of a divided kingdom, and the aim and crowning success of whose life was to undo the evils thereof by a reunion of the country, should have himself sacrificed his life-work by such a fatal measure. There must have been very strong reasons for inducing him to this decision. Two sons of Airlangga claimed succession to the throne, and both felt powerful enough to contest it by force. It seems that the aged father, unable to reconcile them, and in order to avoid the inevitable civil war, was compelled to take the only step which offered some reasonable chance of a peaceful succession after his death.

Thus arose the two kingdoms of Panjalu and Janggala. Panjalu, the official name of the western kingdom, was soon changed

to Kaḍiri, and towards the close of the thirteenth century it was called Gelanggelang. The capital of the kingdom was, throughout, the city of Kaḍiri, also called Daha. There is no doubt that this place is now represented by the town of Kediri which has thus preserved the old name.

Nothing is known as to the name or position of the capital of Janggala. The probability is that Kahuripan, the capital of Airlangga, still continued to be the capital of the eastern kingdom. We possess very little information regarding the kingdom of Janggala. Indeed, it may be doubted if the kingdom of Janggala continued to exist for a long time.

On the other hand we know the names of a large number of kings of Kaḍiri, who were great patrons of literature and under whom the kingdom of Java was raised to great power and affluence. The first king of Kaḍiri whose name is known to us is Śri-Jayavarsha who reigned in A.D.1104 and under whose royal patronage the poet Triguṇa wrote the famous Old-Javanese poem, Kṛishṇāyana.

The old-Javanese *kāvya* Smaradahana by Dharmaya refers to a king Kāmeśvara who probably ruled from 1115 to 1130 A.D. The poet describes the king as the incarnation of the god Kāma (Cupid), and his abode, the wonder of the world, is called Dahana. Śri-Īśānadharma is referred to as the founder of the family. Thus, like Airlangga himself, his descendants, the kings of Kaḍiri, traced their ancestry to Siṇḍok-Īśāna. Kāmeśvara's queen is referred to as Śrī-Kiraṇa.

Kāmeśvara was succeeded by his son Jayabhaya, one of the few royal names that have lived in popular tradition in Java. In the case of Jayabhaya, the explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that he was the patron of the famous poem Bhāratayuddha. Two of his records are dated in 1135 and 1136 A.D. The poet Seḍah could not complete his poem Bhāratayuddha, and the task was accomplished by Panuluh presumably in the reign of Jayabhaya.

The names of a few more kings are known to us, but we know very little about them. The last king of the Kaḍiri dynasty was Kṛitajaya. According to Pararaton, a Javanese historical work, he demanded that the clergy should make obeisance to him, and when they refused, showed them some miracles to overawe them. But far from submitting to the royal command, the clergy left him in a body and sought refuge with the chief of Tumapel. The latter attacked Kaḍiri, and Kṛitajaya, being defeated, took to flight (1222 A.D.) and sought refuge in a monastery. With the defeat of Kṛitajaya perished the kingdom of Kaḍiri.

Before, however, we leave the history of the Kaḍiri dynasty, we must take note of the very interesting accounts of Java which

the Chinese chronicles furnish us. It appears there were three political powers exercising authority over the different parts of the island. The most powerful kingdom, comprising the greater part of the island, is named Sho-po whose dependencies, both in and outside Java, numbered fifteen. Sho-po is equivalent to Kaḍiri, and among its fifteen dependencies, eight are said to be situated on islands. The Chinese author describes the inhabitants of these islands as barbarous. Although it is difficult to identify the islands individually it is almost certain that they refer to the eastern isles of the Archipelago. Two of them are almost certainly Bali and Borneo. It is thus quite clear that Java had begun to exercise political domination over Bali, Borneo and the savage and semi-savage peoples of numerous other islands of the east. Kaḍiri had thus already laid the foundation upon which ultimately Majapahit built an imperial structure of vast dimensions.

As we have had occasion to note above, the Kaḍiri period witnessed a high degree of development both in art and literature. On the whole this period is one of the most remarkable in the whole history of Java. It saw the beginnings of the Javanese empire and a remarkable outburst of intellectual activity. It is a prominent landmark in the history of Indo-Javanese culture.

4. THE DYNASTY OF SINGHASĀRI

Like many other founders of royal families, the life of Ken Angrok, who established a new kingdom in Singhasāri, has been the subject of many popular legends. Bereft of supernatural elements, which make him an offspring or incarnation of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva, Angrok is represented in these legends as the son of a peasant at Pangkur, who spent his early life in highway robbery till he was taken in the service of Tunggul Ametung, the governor of Tumapel (Singhasāri). Angrok assassinated his master, married his widow, Queen Ḍeḍes, and made himself ruler of the territory to the east of Mount Kavi.

The establishment of this new power soon brought Angrok into conflict with Kṛitajaya, king of Kaḍiri. Fortune again smiled on Angrok. As we have seen above, king Kṛitajaya was involved in a quarrel with the clergy and Angrok took advantage of this to declare himself openly as king. He took the name 'Rājasa' and probably also 'Amūrvvabhūmi.'

A fight between the kingdom of Kaḍiri and Tumapel (Singhasāri) became inevitable. Rājasa, evidently still helped by the clergy of Kaḍiri, declared war against his enemy. A decisive battle

took place at Ganter in 1222 A.D. After a long and bloody encounter Kṛitajaya's brother and commander-in-chief Mahīsha Walungan died in the battlefield, and the army, bereft of its leader, took to flight. The rest of Kṛitajaya's army was again defeated near Kaḍiri. Kṛitajaya fled from the battlefield of Ganter with a few followers and was heard no more. Kaḍiri was henceforth included within the kingdom of Rājasa and probably placed in charge of a member of the late royal family.

Rājasa thus united the whole of Eastern Java under his authority. The new kingdom was at first called Tumapel. Gradually the kingdom was called after its capital Singhasāri. With the foundation of Singhasāri, we enter on a new phase of Javanese history. The downfall of the dynasty that traced its descent from the royal house of Matarām finally snapped the connecting link with the old traditions and the history of Central Java. Therewith the old Hindu culture and civilisation rapidly recedes into the background and more and more a purely Javanese element takes its place.

Rājasa restored peace in the country, but met with a violent end. We are told that prince Anūshapati, the son of queen Ḍeḍes by her first husband, noticed the difference in the king's attitude towards him and his other brothers and sisters. On enquiry he learnt from his mother that he was really the son of the former king who was killed by Rājasa. He, therefore, employed a high official to murder the king, and as soon as the deed was done, he himself killed the assassin, as if to avenge the death of the king. This probably took place in A.D. 1227.

Anūshapati succeeded Rājasa. He maintained his hold on the whole kingdom and died in 1248. He was killed by his half-brother Tohjaya while watching a cock-fight, and thus atoned for the foul crime by which he came to the throne.

King Tohjaya ruled only for a few months when he was killed by his nephew Rangga Wuni, son of Anūshapati, who ascended the throne in 1248 A.D. under the name of Śrī-Jaya Vishṇuvardhana. Vishṇuvardhana died at Mandaragiri in 1268 A.D., the first and the only king of Singhasāri to die a natural death.

Kṛitanagara, the son and successor of Vishṇuvardhana, had already been anointed king by his father in 1254 A.D. Since 1268 A.D. Kṛitanagara ruled alone. The reign of Kṛitanagara was an eventful one both in home and foreign politics. After a long interval Java entered into political relations with the neighbouring lands. A military expedition was sent to Bali in 1284 A.D. to re-establish the supremacy of Java over that island, and the king of Bali was brought a prisoner before Kṛitanagara. The success

over Bali was however a short-lived one—for it soon became independent again.

The expedition against Bali was evidently the result of a deliberate imperial policy of expansion, and the authority of the king was established over Malayu, Pahang, Gurun, Bakulapura, Sunda and Madhura.

Malayu in this list undoubtedly denotes the kingdom of that name in Sumatra, now called Jambi. We have already seen that it formed an independent kingdom till it was conquerred by Śrī-vijaya, and formed a part of it since seventh century A.D. The Javanese military expedition against Malayu left the port of Tuban on ships in 1275 A.D. By 1286 A.D. the kingdom of Malayu, which extended far into the interior of Sumatra, formed a vassal state of Java. It was a great achievement and may be regarded as the crowning glory of Kṛitanagara. He established a Javanese military outpost in Sumatra, from which the authority of his land ultimately penetrated into the farthest corners of that country.

Among the other conquests of Kṛitanagara Pahang represents the district of that name in the Malay Peninsula, and Bakulapura, the south-western corner of the island of Borneo. Gurun, probably Gorong or Goram, means the eastern regions. Thus Kṛitanagara established his political authority in Jambi in Sumatra, parts of Borneo and Malay Peninsula, Bali, Sunda, and Madura, and under him Java rose to be the leading power in Suvarṇadvīpa. The very fact that the Śailendras (or their successors) could neither prevent Java from obtaining a secure footing in the heart of Sumatra, nor remove her from the position so obtained, shows that the sun of their glory had set and a new power was gradually taking their place.

It is perhaps not altogether unconnected with the imperial policy of Java that we find about this time a princess of that island, named Tapasī, married to Jayasiṁhavarman IV, king of Champā (1287-1308 A.D.). At that time Champā had after an ardous struggle delivered herself from the yoke of Kublai Khan, the dreaded Mongol ruler of China. Possibly the alliance between Java and Champā was the result of a common enmity to the Mongol emperor. For the latter had, as usual, invited the king of Java to come in person to the imperial court and pay homage to the Mongol emperor (1281 A.D.). Kṛitanagara avoided the task on one pretext or another till the crisis came in 1289. Unable to bear any longer with the importunate and pressing invitation to humiliate himself in the imperial court, Kṛitanagara sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face. It was a defiant challenge and Kublai did not fail to take it up. He organised an expedition against Java, but

before it could reach that island an internal revolution had removed Kṛitanagara from this world.

For, in spite of the brilliant success of his foreign and imperial policy, Kṛitanagara failed miserably in his internal administration and we hear of frequent revolutions. In 1270 A.D., the king had to put down the rebellion of one Chayarāja (or Bhayarāja) who was evidently powerful enough to assume the royal title. Ten years later he had to suppress another rebellion, headed by one Mahīsha Rangkah.

But the final blow was given by the governor of Kaḍiri. The details supplied by the Javanese chronicle Pararaton attribute the debacle mainly to the wrong choice of his officers by the king. His first minister Raganātha served him well and exerted himself for the welfare of the state. But the king not having paid any heed to his advice, he threw up his office in disgust. The king now appointed Arāgani as his minister. The new minister's only care was to serve the king with good dishes and wine. Another capricious act of the king was to raise a very low man Ārya Vīrarāja to a high position in court. What is worse still, when this man proved to be untrustworthy, the king appointed him to be governor of Sungeneb in east Madura.

According to Pararaton, Vīrarāja and Arāgani were the evil geniuses of the king. Arāgani was instrumental in sending the expedition to Malayu, thus denuding Java of most of its troops. Vīrarāja saw the opportunity and entered into a treasonable correspondence with his friend Jayakatvang, the governor of Kaḍiri since 1271, who longed for an opportunity to secure the throne by any means. At the instigation of Vīrarāja, Jayakatvang undertook the perilous venture. He sent a small part of his army towards Singhasāri by the northern route and it advanced with music and banners. King Kṛitanagara, who all this while was doing nothing but drinking wine, would not at first believe of the revolt of Jayakatvang, whom he regarded as favourably disposed towards him. But when at last the sight of the wounded men convinced him of the reality of the situation, he sent all the available troops against Jayakatvang's army in the north. The royal army was commanded by two sons-in-law of the king. One was Prince Vijaya and the other was Arddharāja, the son of Jayakatvang himself. The royal army obtained a victory and drove back the rebel troops in the north. In the meantime, however, another larger and better equipped army from Kaḍiri advanced stealthily along the southern route and reached Singhasāri without any opposition. They stormed the palace and, according to Pararaton, found the king and his minister drinking wine. Both fell by the sword of the Kaḍirian troops. This took place in the year 1292 A.D.

The detailed accounts of Pararaton, depicting the king in the blackest colour, is in striking contrast to the other accounts that we possess about him. According to Nāgara-Kṛitāgama, a famous historical poem, the king was "well-versed in the six-fold royal policy, expert in all branches of knowledge, quite at home in (Buddhist) scriptures, and eminently righteous in life and conduct." This may appear to be an obvious exaggeration, but similar praise for scholarship and spiritual excellence of the king, the lord of the four continents (*dvīpa*), is also found in the inscriptions. Indeed, the king's passionate love for Buddhism has become proverbial. He scrupulously followed in his life all the rules, regulations, and injunctions of the religion. He was deeply versed in Buddhist writings, particularly the Tarka and Vyākaraṇa-Śāstra (logic and grammar) and that which concerns the inner self of man. The king practised Yoga and Samādhi, and made many pious foundations.

The curious contrast between the two opposing views of the life and character of Kṛitanagara may perhaps be understood if we remember that the particular Tantrik form of Buddhism to which the king was devoted was accompanied by objectionable and even revolting practices such as the free use of wine. When Pararaton refers to the drinking debout of Kṛitanagara he was evidently telling the truth, though he viewed it in a different light from others who remarked in an approving manner that the king scrupulously followed the prescriptions of religion.

While we may not be prepared to accept the picture of the king, as given in Pararaton, drinking wine even while the enemy was within the palace, we may take, as historical, the general outline of the story as given above. Engrossed by his imperial policy abroad, and religious practices at home, the king was indifferent to the internal dangers that threatened him, and did not evidently take sufficient precautions against them. The imperial policy of Kṛitanagara was sure to weaken the resources of Java in men and money, and the troops stationed in the various newly conquered territories to maintain the authority of the king very likely denuded Java of the best part of its troops when the serious rebellion broke out. One trait of the royal character, alleged in Pararaton, *viz.* the king's childlike faith in the goodness of others *e.g.* Jayakatvang and Vīrarāja, even when they deserved it least, may not be absolutely unfounded. A religious enthusiasm, which almost bordered on fanaticism, is hardly compatible with a true discernment of men and things. We can well believe that the king, engrossed in his books and keenly busy with his religious practices, had hardly any time or capacity to look around and keep a vigilant eye on the possible

disturbing factors of the kingdom. His implicit trust in others gave him a false idea of security. Heedless of the impending dangers that threatened him on all sides, he wildly pursued his imperial and religious activities and rushed headlong towards destruction. Thus it was that his ruin was brought about by precisely those traits in his life and career which rendered him so high and noble in the estimation of some. It was this paradox and contradictory elements in his life that is mainly responsible for such radically different pictures of king Kṛitanagara as have been preserved to us by our two chief authorities, Pararaton and Nāgara-Kṛitāgama.

In concluding the account of king Kṛitanagara we may refer to the very brief but interesting account of his kingdom contained in the writings of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.). The Venetian traveller describes Java as a prosperous kingdom under a great king. It was very rich and noted for its trade and commerce.

5. THE FOUNDATION OF MAJAPAHIT

With the death of Kṛitanagara, the kingdom of Singhasāri fell to pieces, and Jayakatvang established the supremacy of Kaḍiri. The success of Jayakatvang may be viewed in different lights. To the family of Kṛitanagara he, no doubt, appeared as a usurper and traitor. But it is also possible to regard him as having restored the supremacy of Kaḍiri, which had been lost nearly seventy years ago, after a glorious existence of about two centuries. Whatever that may be, his success was short-lived. The danger which overwhelmed him and his kingdom at no distant date arose from two sources, *viz.*, prince Vijaya, who commanded the northern forces of Singhasāri at the time of the catastrophe; and secondly, the dreaded Mongol chief Kublai Khan, who was provoked beyond measure by the cruel offence of Kṛitanagara as mentioned above.

It has been already mentioned that when the forces of Kaḍiri invaded the kingdom of Singhasāri from the north, king Kṛitanagara sent all his available troops against them under his two sons-in-law, Princes Vijaya and Arddharāja. After three brilliant victories over the army of Kaḍiri Vijaya naturally thought that the enemy was totally routed. Then followed a strange reverse. Suddenly a new Kaḍirian army appeared to the east, and Arddharāja, the colleague of Vijaya, deserted the royal cause. The army of Vijaya suffered a serious reverse and he fell back. There is no doubt that this crisis was the result of the fall of Singhasāri and death of king Kṛitanagara. The southern Kaḍirian army which had accomplished this task must have now been released to assist the northern troops, and Arddharāja,

the son of Jayakatvang, naturally deserted the cause of his dead father-in-law, and joined his successful and victorious father.

The position of Vijaya was rendered hopeless. With six hundred men that now remained with him he proceeded northwards, and after great difficulties and privations, reached Madura with only twelve followers.

Vijaya went to Madura, as he hoped to find an ally in its governor Vīrarāja, who owed everything to the late king Kṛitanagara. He was, of course, ignorant of the treasonable correspondence between Vīrarāja and Jayakatvang. Vīrarāja, astounded at first by the sight of Vijaya, soon collected himself and received Vijaya with all outward signs of honour. Vijaya made a passionate appeal to him : "Vīrarāja, my father," said he, "my obligations to you indeed are very great. If I ever succeed in attaining my object, I shall divide Java into two parts ; one part will be yours and one part will be mine." This bait was too much for Vīrarāja. This arch-conspirator now betrayed Jayakatvang and entered into a conspiracy with Vijaya.

Vīrarāja's plan was in short as follows :

Vijaya should submit to Jayakatvang and ingratiate himself into the favour of the latter. As soon as he had sufficient influence with the king he should ask for a piece of waste land near Trik where the people from Madura would establish a settlement. As soon as Vijaya could gather sufficient information about the men and things in Kaḍiri, he would ask leave to settle in the new region, and gather there his own trusty followers from Singhasāri and all the discontented elements from Kaḍiri.

The plan was admirably carried out. A new settlement sprang up, and as one of the settlers tasted a Maja (*Vilva*) fruit and threw it away as bitter (*pahit*) it came to be called Majapahit or its Sanskrit equivalent "Vilva-tikta" or "Tikta-vilva." From his new home at Majapahit Vijaya sent word to Vīrarāja that everything was ready. But before they could achieve anything Java was invaded by the army of Kublai Khan.

It has already been mentioned how Kṛitanagara had provoked the wrath of the great Kublai Khan by mutilating the face of his envoy. In order to avenge this insult the emperor organised an expedition against Java. In 1293 A.D., the expedition reached the port of Tuban on the northern coast of E. Java. There the Chinese army was divided into two parts. Half the army marched overland, and the other half went by sea to the mouth of the Solo river and from there to the Surabaya river.

Vijaya, who had already established himself at Majapahit, thought of utilising the Chinese expedition to his advantage. He immediately offered his submission and sent his Prime-minister with fourteen other officials to meet the Chinese Army.

Jayakatvang, on the other hand, made preparations to defend his country. He sent his Prime-minister Hi-ning-kuan with a flotilla of boats to guard the mouth of the Surabaya river, and himself advanced against Majapahit.

The Chinese army reached the Surabaya river and completely defeated the hostile fleet, guarding the mouth of the river. Hi-ning-kuan left his boat and fled overnight, whereupon more than a hundred large ships were captured. This took place on the first day of the third month in 1293 A.D.

After this naval victory the Chinese leaders advanced to Majapahit to assist Vijaya against Jayakatvang. On the seventh day the soldiers of Kaḍiri arrived from three sides to attack Vijaya, but they were defeated.

Majapahit was saved, but the main army of the king of Kaḍiri was still at large. So, on the 15th, the Chinese army was divided into three bodies, in order to attack Kaḍiri.

On the 19th they (*i.e.* the different divisions of the army) arrived at Daha, the capital of Kaḍiri, where Jayakatvang defended himself with more than a hundred thousand soldiers. The battle lasted from 6 A.M. till 2 P.M. and three times the attack was renewed, when the Kaḍirian army was defeated and fled; several thousand thronged into the river and perished there, whilst more than 5,000 were slain. The king retired into the inner city which was immediately surrounded by the Chinese army. In the evening Jayakatvang came out of the fortress and offered his submission. His wife, his children and officers were taken by the victors who then went back.

Jayakatvang's son had fled to the mountains, but a Chinese general went into the interior with a thousand men and brought him back a prisoner.

In the meantime, Vijaya asked for permission to return to his country, in order to prepare a new letter of submission to the Emperor, and to take the precious articles in his possession for sending them to court. On the 2nd day of the 4th month Vijaya left the Chinese camp, and the Chinese generals sent two officers with 200 men to accompany him.

Vijaya, having got rid of Jayakatvang, had no more need of his Chinese allies, and wanted to get rid of them. He killed his Chinese escort on the 19th, and having collected a large force, attacked the imperial army on its way back from Kaḍiri. The Chinese generals fought bravely against him and threw him back, though not without great loss.

The Chinese generals now thought of carrying on the war against Vijaya, but one of them, Yi-ko-mu-su, wished to do as the

emperor had ordered them, and first send a messenger to court. The two others could not agree to this; therefore the troops were withdrawn and on the 24th day of the 4th month they returned with their prisoners and with the envoys of the different smaller states which had submitted. Jayakatvang and his son were killed by the Chinese before they left Java. With the death of Jayakatvang the short-lived kingdom of Kaḍiri came to an end.

Thus ended the strange episode of the Chinese invasion of Java. They came to punish Kṛitanagara, but really helped the restoration of his family by killing the enemy Jayakatvang. The net result of the expedition was to make Vijaya the undisputed master of Java with Majapahit as its capital. He soon re-established the friendly relations with the Chinese emperor. For we find embassies from Java at the imperial court in 1297, 1298, 1300 and 1308 A.D.

6. THE JAVANESE EMPIRE

Vijaya assumed the name of Kṛitarājasa Jayavardhana after his accession to the throne. Majapahit, which played such an important role in the recent happenings, became the capital of the new king, who rightly proclaimed himself, in the record of 1294 A.D., as the master of the whole of Java. Although the capital was changed, the new kingdom may justly be regarded as the continuation of the kingdom of Singhasāri, with a short break of two years, due to the assumption of royal authority by Jayakatvang. For Kṛitarājasa combined in himself various claims to be regarded as the rightful heir to the throne of Singhasāri. He was not only descended from the old royal family, but had also married four daughters of the late king Kṛitanagara who had no male issue. Although Kṛitarājasa ruled by his own right, the daughters of Kṛitanagara probably also exercised some royal authority derived from their father. This would explain why the royal power was assumed, a few years after Kṛitarājasa's death, by the youngest of his queens, who ruled not as dowager-queen or queen-mother, but on her own right as daughter of Kṛitanagara. The name of this queen was Gāyatrī, though she is usually referred to as Rājapatnī, the queen *par excellence*. By her the king had two daughters, but the three other queens had no issue.

Kṛitarājasa had a fifth queen, a princess of Malayu. This kingdom in Sumatra had been already conquered by Kṛitanagara. As soon as the Javanese army of occupation at Malayu heard of the catastrophic end of their king they must have naturally made preparations to return. They reached Java ten days after Vijaya

had finally triumphed over the Chinese army and brought with them two princesses of Malayu. The younger, Dara-Peṭak, also known as Indreśvarī, was married by Kṛitarājasa. Dara-Peṭak bore a son to Kṛitarājasa, and the boy was heir-presumptive to the throne. In 1295 Kṛitarājasa anointed the son, named Jayanagara, as the prince of Kaḍiri.

We do not know of any event in the reign of Kṛitarājasa. We indeed meet with Vīrarāja as the highest dignitary in the court, enjoying large grants of land in the eastern corner of Java, but this was a poor compensation for half the kingdom of Java which the king had promised him in his dark days of exile and penury. On the whole Kṛitarājasa ruled in peace and prosperity and died in 1309.

Kṛitarājasa was succeeded by his son Jayanagara. The reign of Jayanagara was full of troubles, due to the dissatisfaction of the companions of Kṛitarājasa, who stood by him in weal and woe but did not think themselves sufficiently rewarded by the king. So long as the strong hands of Kṛitarājasa were there, they remained quiet, but as soon as a young inexperienced king came to the throne they rose against him.

It appears that the first rebellion broke out in 1309 A.D. The leader of this, Rangga Lawe, aspired to the office of Prime-minister, but having failed in his object, organised a rebellion at Tuban. He was joined by a number of persons, but the rebellion was soon subdued, and Rangga Lawe perished with most of his followers. Next came the turn of Sora. He, too, rebelled, and perished in 1311 A.D.

The old Vīrarāja also thought the moment ripe for striking a blow for himself. He followed the policy which he had suggested to Vijaya. He ingratiated himself into the favour of the king and then asked leave to set up in Lamayang. There he firmly established himself and never came back to Majapahit, not even at the time of the official Durbar of the eighth month. The king put up with it and there was no open rebellion. Next came the turn of Nambi, the son of Vīrarāja, and one of the few companions of Vijaya, during his flight. He took leave to see his father who was ill. He then established himself at Lembah, built a fort there, and collected an army. About this time died Vīrarāja, the old arch-conspirator, before he could complete his treachery. Nambi, however, proceeded to carry out his father's plan. In 1316 the royal army proceeded against him. After a short campaign, the strongholds of Nambi were captured and he perished with his followers.

Several minor rebellions occured both before and after that of Nambi. Passing by them, we come to the rebellion of Kuṭi, in

1319. Kuṭi was one of the seven Dharmaputras who occupied a high position in the kingdom. Pararaton has given us a long and romantic account of this rebellion. It is said that in course of this rebellion the king left his capital city and fled during night with only a body-guard of fifteen men under the command of Gajah Mada who was destined to become famous at no distant date. Gajah Mada returned to the capital and reported that the king was killed by Kuṭi's men. This caused a great sorrow in the capital. Gajah Mada concluded from this that the people were yet attached to the king and did not like Kuṭi. Thereupon he divulged the secret to the ministers, who killed Kuṭi, and the king was restored to the throne.

Gajah Mada was suitably rewarded for his services. He first became governor of Kahuripan, and, after two years, that of Daha, and he remained in this post till he became Prime-minister. The rebellion of Kuṭi in 1319 was the last organised attempt against the central authority.

We have a short reference to Java about this time in the writings of Odoric Van Pordenon who visited the archipelago in 1321. He says that the king of Java exercises suzerainty over seven other kings, the land is very populous and produces spices, and that the palace is decorated with gold, silver and precious stones.

The political greatness of Java is also reflected in an inscription of 1323 A.D. It refers to the kingdom as comprising the whole of Java and includes among its foreign possessions Madura, Borneo etc. Thus although Java might have lost its influence in the west, its political supremacy in the east was yet unimpaired. Java also maintained good relations with China and sent regular embassies.

According to the story of Pararaton the closing years of Jayanagara were again full of troubles and he was assassinated in 1328 A.D.

As Jayanagara left no male heir, the nearest female heiress was 'Rājapatnī,' mentioned above, *viz.* the daughter of Kṛitanagara, and the widow of Kṛitarājasa. As she had adopted the life of a Buddhist nun, her eldest daughter Tribhuvanottunggadevī Jayavishṇuvardhanī acted as regent for her mother. She was known to posterity as the princess of Jīvana or Kahuripan (Bhre Kaharipan), a title which she bore probably before, and certainly after her period of regency. During the Regency she was called the queen of Majapahit, while her son, the heir-presumptive to the throne, bore the title, 'Prince or Jīvana.' Her personal name appears to be Gītārjjā.

In 1331, Sadeng and Keta revolted against the regent. These places were in the neighbourhood of Besuki. The revolts were put down by the royal troops. During the same year Gajah Mada, the

governor of Daha already mentioned above, became the chief minister. From this time Gajah Mada plays a prominent part in the government, and is credited with the conquest of a number of islands in the archipelago. An expedition was sent against the island of Bali in 1343 A.D., and it was thoroughly subdued.

In 1350 died queen Rājapatnī. Prince Hayam Wuruk, the son of the regent Tribhuvanottuggadevī, came to the throne in 1350, on the death of his grandmother Rājapatnī. He was then only sixteen years old. His coronation name was Rājasanagara, though he is generally referred to by his old name Hayam Wuruk.

The first notable incident in the reign of the king was his marriage with a Sunda princess in 1357 A.D. After the preliminary negotiations about the match were settled, the king of Sunda, called Mahārāja, came to Bubat near Majapahit with his daughter. A difference, however, soon arose. The Sundanese king desired that the daughter should be treated on an equal footing, and the marriage ceremony should be as between equals. The Majapahit court, on the other hand, regarded the Sundanese king as subordinate and wanted to celebrate the marriage as between a suzerain king and his feudatory. The Sundanese would not tolerate this indignity and refused to give up the princess. Thereupon the Majapahit troops surrounded the whole party. The nobles of Sunda preferred death to dishonour, and after brave fight, perished to a man.

The aggressive policy towards Sunda in 1357 was merely an indication of the strong imperialism which was to distinguish the period of Rājasanagara. During the same year a military expedition was sent against the island of Dompo, which was crowned with complete success. Although details of further conquest are lacking, there is scarcely any doubt that during the reign of this king the kingdom of Java rose to be the supreme political power in the Archipelago, and established its suzerainty in almost all the principal islands and a large portion of the Malay Peninsula. It is not to be supposed, however, that all these foreign possessions were directly administered by, and formed part and parcel of, the Javanese kingdom. But the king of Majapahit was regarded as the suzerain power by all of them, and his mighty fleet maintained his hold upon their rulers, excluding effectually the active exercise of any authority by other powers. The rulers of these subordinate states owed allegiance to him and paid tributes or other dues as agreed upon, although they were left free and independent in matters of internal administration of their states.

A detailed list of such subordinate states is given in the poem Nāgara Kṛitāgama, which was composed in 1365 A.D., during the reign of this king. The long list shows the hegemony of nearly the

whole of Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago under the kingdom of Majapahit in Java, the only notable exception being the Philippines. Roughly speaking, the empire comprised the recent Dutch possessions in the East Indies, with the addition of Malay Peninsula, but excluding, perhaps, northern Celebes. Other evidences also indicate that by the year 1365 A.D., when the Nāgara Kṛitāgama was composed, Java reached the height of her political greatness and established her unquestioned supremacy over Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago. She also occupied a position of international importance. The Nāgara Kṛitāgama refers to the intimate and friendly intercourse of Majapahit with the neighbouring states such as Siam, with Ayodhyāpura (Ayuthiya) and Dharmanagarī (Ligor), Martaban, Rājapura, Singhanagarī, Champā, Kāmboja and Yavana (N. Annam).

It also refers to a number of countries, including some of those just mentioned, which had trade relations with Majapahit, and from which Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas visited the Javanese capital. Thus we read : "There came unceasingly, in large numbers, people from all lands such as Jambudvīpa, Kāmboja, Chīna, Yavana, Champā, Karṇāṭaka, Gauḍa, and Siam. They came in ships with merchandise. Monks and distinguished Brāhmaṇas also came from these lands and were entertained." Jambudvīpa, of course, refers to India, while Karṇāṭaka and Gauḍa are specifically mentioned, probably to indicate a closer intimacy with Bengal and Kanarese districts. The Javanese had indeed a high regard for India, for in one verse (83.2) Nāgara Kṛitāgama says that Jambudvīpa and Java are the good lands *par excellence*. The intimate relation between the two countries is also indicated by the fact that laudatory poems in honour of the Javanese king were written by the monk Budhāditya of Kāñchī (Conjeeveram) and the Brāhmaṇa named Mutali Sahṛidaya, probably a Tamil Brāhmaṇa.

It thus appears from all accounts that the reign of Rājasanagara witnessed the high-water mark of the power and glory of Java. In view of the increase in power and responsibility of the empire, we find a thorough organisation of the administrative machinery to cope with the new and heavy task. There is hardly any doubt that the credit for this, to a large extent, belongs to Gajah Mada. He had risen from an humble position to be the Prime Minister of the empire and brought to his task an unusual degree of devotion and skill. When Gajah Mada died in 1364, no other chief minister was appointed as his successor. The king, his father, mother, uncle, aunt and his two sisters with their husbands formed a sort of inner royal council which kept the chief direction of affairs in its hands.

In 1371, however, we find a new Prime Minister appointed. This was Gajah Enggom, who served for the remaining eighteen years of Rājasanagara's reign, and continued in the post under the next king till his death in 1398.

7. THE DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE

King Rājasanagara had a long and prosperous reign, and under him, as stated above, Majapahit became the seat of a vast empire. But he took an unwise step in his old age which was mainly instrumental in pulling down the vast imperial fabric reared up with so much care. In order to understand this fully we must have an idea of the royal family. The king had by his chief queen Parameśvarī only a daughter named Kusumavarddhanī. The queen's sister, Īśvarī, called princess of Pajang, had one daughter, called Nāgaravarddhanī princess of Vīrabhūmi, and a son called Vikramavarddhana, prince of Matarām. Vikramavardhana was married to the crown-princess Kusumavarddhanī, and was thus the next heir to the throne. But king Rājasanagara had also a son by a junior wife. In order to settle him well in life, the king had him married to Nāgaravarddhanī. He thus became prince of Vīrabhūmi and was adopted by the princess of Daha. In order to strengthen his position still further the king made him governor of the eastern part of Java. Although nominally under the authority of Majapahit, the prince of Vīrabhūmi really exercised almost independent powers, so much so that the Chinese annals refer to two kings in Java even during the lifetime of king Rājasanagara, and both of them sent envoys to the imperial court. Thus were sown the seeds of a future civil war which was destined to pave the way for the final overthrow, not only of the kingdom of Majapahit, but also of the Hindu kingdom and Hindu culture of Java.

King Rājasanagara died in 1389 A.D., and Vikramavardhana, also known as Hyang Viśesha, succeeded him at Majapahit. As prince Vīrabhūmi was ruling like an independent prince in Eastern Java even during the lifetime of Rājasanagara, it may be easily presumed that the relation between the two states did not improve after the death of that king. It appears that as early as 1401 A.D., king Vikramavardhana was involved in a fight with prince Vīrabhūmi, but the result was indecisive. War broke out again in 1404 or shortly before that. At first the fortune of war turned against Vikramavardhana, and he decided to retire. But then the two powerful chiefs of Java, Bhre Tumapel, and Bhra Parameśvara, son and son-in-law respectively of the king, came to his aid, though they

had at first stood aloof. This proved decisive. Prince Vīrabhūmi was defeated and fled during night in a ship. He was, however, caught and put to death, and his head was brought to Majapahit in 1406 A.D.

The defeat and death of the Prince of Vīrabhūmi once more restored the unity of Java. But the internal dissensions for nearly a quarter of a century, ending in a disastrous civil war, must have taxed to the utmost the military and financial resources of the country and left it weak and exhausted. Its first fruits were seen in the loss of that political supremacy which Java had secured in Suvarṇadvīpa. Her position as suzerain power now passed over to China, and gradually new kingdoms and commercial centres arose which were destined to overwhelm Java herself at no distant date.

With the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., we can clearly perceive the decline of Java, as an international power. This can be best understood by reviewing the position of a few kingdoms which had acknowledged the supremacy of Java in the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

1. *West Borneo* (Pu-ni)—In 1370 the king of Pu-ni at first did not dare to send even an envoy to China for fear of Java. But we read in the history of the Ming Dynasty that in 1405 he not only got investiture as king from the hands of the Chinese emperor, but even went with his whole family to China to pay respects to the emperor. Henceforth the kings of Pu-ni sent regular tributes to the imperial court, and some time even personally attended the court with their family.

2. *San-fo-tsi*—The same Chinese history tells us that although Java had completely conquered San-fo-tsi, she could not keep all the lands. Two states were established there with two Chinese adventurers at their head. Although they nominally admitted the suzerainty of Java, they sent regular tributes and envoys to the imperial court. In 1424 a king of San-fo-tsi even asked permission of the emperor to succeed his father. It is evident that from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Java exercised but little real authority in that country.

Similarly various small states in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula transferred their allegiance to China. This shows in a remarkable manner the change in the position of Java as an international power. Everything indicates that China was now by common consent the recognised suzerain. Java silently acquiesced in the new rôle of China and accommodated herself to the changed state of things.

The reign of Vikramavardhana or Hyang Viśesha was thus inglorious both at home and abroad. In addition to the disastrous civil war, Java suffered terribly from a volcanic eruption in 1411

and a great famine in 1426. A new Prime Minister, Kanaka, carried on the government from 1413 to 1430. The king died in or shortly before 1429 A.D.

After the death of Vikramavarddhana probably his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne. She superseded her two brothers and this was presumably due to her high rank on the mother's side.

We know of no important events during the reign of Suhitā. She died childless in 1447 A.D., and was succeeded by Bhre Tumapel, probably the younger of her two brothers of that name. The king was called Śrī Kṛitavijaya, and died after an uneventful reign of four years (1451 A.D.).

The events immediately following the death of the king are not quite clearly intelligible from the account of Pararaton. It appears that a few kings ruled in quick succession till Majapahit was conquered by Girīndravardhana Raṇa-Vijaya, king of Daha.

Girīndravardhana Raṇavijaya is the last Hindu king of Java about whom we possess any authentic details. But the Hindu kingdom continued there for 30 or 40 years more before it was finally conquered by the Muhammadans.

8. THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

There are three Old-Javanese prose texts on the political theory and public administration, which hold up a high and noble political ideal.

1. Kāmandaka. An Old-Javanese text, in which Bhagavān Kāmandaka explains to his pupils the duties of the king. The book was also known as Rājanīti. The characters from the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are cited as illustrations of the political principles. Yudhisṭhira, for example, is held up as an ideal.

2. Indraloka. In this book Bhagavān Indraloka gives lessons on politics to his pupil Kumārayajña.

3. Nītipraya. This book describes the duties of a king towards his enemy. It was communicated by Vishṇu to Vyāsa.

The absolute power of the king formed the basis of state. No form of government other than an absolute monarchy is ever referred to, and there was never any idea, far less an attempt, to put any check upon the unrestrained power of the king. Indeed the king was often conceived as the incarnation of God, and thus the theory of divine right, which we find in a fully developed form in Manu-Saṁhitā, had a complete sway in Java. This is further exemplified by the deification of kings after death. This was accomplished by making divine images on the model of the king's person, and always

referring to the dead king as god (Bhaṭāra) of such and such a place, meaning thereby the place of his cremation.

The framework of administration followed the Indian model to a certain extent. The king was at the head of a state, but all large kingdoms were divided into smaller units, each under a governor appointed by the king, and the smallest unit was formed by a village which had some form of local self-government under a headman.

The king was surrounded by a large group of officials whose number and designation varied at different periods. The records of Eastern Java refer to a large number of officials. The names are mostly Javanese, but we have, besides Mantrī, also two other Indian designations, Senāpati (Commander-in-chief) and Senāpati Sarva-Jala *i.e.* admiral. These records also introduce a stereotyped form of government which continued, with slight changes and occasional modifications, throughout the Hindu period. Next to the king were three great Mantris, called Mantrī Hino, Mantrī Sirikan, and Mantrī Halu ; and after them three chief executive officers, Rakryan Mapatih, Rakryan Demung, and Rakryan Kanuruhan. The former gradually became ornamental figures, while the chief powers passed to the Rakryans whose number was increased to five and occasionally even to seven.

Besides these high executive officials there were two other classes of important functionaries, *viz.*, Dharmādhikaraṇas and Dharmādhyakshas. The Dharmādhikaraṇas, as in India, denoted judicial officers. The two Dharmādhyakshas were the Superintendent of the Śaiva institutions and the Superintendent of the Buddhist institutions.

On the whole, we must conclude that there was a highly organised and efficient system of bureaucratic administration in Java under an absolute monarch.

Finally, a word may be said regarding the administration of the empire. It appears that nowhere except in Bali was there any idea of direct administration from the capital city of Java. The dependent states were left free in respect of their own internal administration so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Majapahit and paid their taxes and other dues. The Bhujanggas and Mantrīs from Majapahit visited these states to collect these dues, and the former possibly took advantage of this opportunity to make a supervision of religious endowments.

CHAPTER IV

THE END OF HINDU RULE IN SUVARṆADVĪPA

1. Sumatra and the Rise of Islam

The disintegration of the Śailendra empire loosened the bonds which united politically the petty states of Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. But there shortly arose a new power in Sumatra, which sought to rival the exploits of the decaying empire, and revive it on a new basis. This was Malayu, which is usually identified with Jambi in the eastern coast of Sumatra. The existence of this kingdom in the seventh century A.D., and its ultimate absorption by the neighbouring kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya, have already been noted above. Since then Malayu disappears as a separate political unit until the eleventh century A.D., when it sends two embassies to China in 1079 and 1088 A.D. But in the thirteenth century it was conquered by the Javanese king Kṛitanagara. The tragic end of Kṛitanagara enabled Malayu to throw off the yoke of Java, and it soon felt powerful enough to enter into a contest with Siam for the possession of the petty states in the southern part of Malay Peninsula.

Thus the end of the thirteenth century A.D., saw the decline of the Śailendras and the rise of the new kingdom of Malayu which sought to occupy the position so long held by the former. As we have seen above, the new kingdom owed its existence to Java, and for a long time there was a close attachment between the two states. When the Javanese army retired from Malayu after the death of Kṛitanagara, two princesses of Malayu accompanied it to Java. One of them Dara-Peṭak was married to the Javanese king. The elder daughter, Dara-Jingga, married one 'Deva' and had by him a son named Tuhan Janaka who afterwards became king of Malayu. He was also known as Śrī Marmadeva and was probably the successor of Maulivarmadeva who was ruling in 1286 A.D., as a vassal of Kṛitanagara. The account of Marco Polo shows that in 1292 A.D. Malayu (Malaiur) was a flourishing kingdom and a prosperous centre of trade and commerce.

The next king of Malayu known to us is Ādityavarmadeva. Ādityavarman was a Tantrik Buddhist, and ruled for at least 28 years (1347-1375 A.D.) over a fairly extensive kingdom, which comprised the central portion of Sumatra and extended from the eastern to the western coast. According to the Javanese chronicle, Nāgara-Kṛitāgama, this kingdom of Malayu acknowledged the supremacy of the Javanese king. If that were so, it would really mean a sort of nominal allegiance. It is interesting to note that the Javanese poem refers to Sumatra by the general name of Malayu, and thus gives an indirect evidence of the supreme position of that kingdom in Sumatra.

The influence of Malayu, however, did not extend to Northern Sumatra. This was now divided into a number of petty states which paid a nominal allegiance, some time to Java, and some time to China, as suited their convenience, and were all the while engaged in internecine wars. This paved the way for the gradual establishment of Islam as a political power which was destined in the long run to overwhelm nearly the whole of Suvarṇadvīpa.

The first definite information of this changed political condition is obtained from the account of Marco Polo (1292 A.D.). Marco Polo calls the island "Java the less," and says that it had eight kingdoms and eight kings. Of these he gives detailed account of six kingdoms visited by him. Of the six kingdoms, Ferlec is undoubtedly Perlak on the north-east, and Lambri the same as Lamuri or Great Atjeh (Acheh), on the north-west. Two other kingdoms, named between them, *viz.* Basma and Samara probably represent Pase and Samudra.

The kingdoms had their own kings, but all, except Ferlec, called themselves subjects of the Great Khan *i.e.* the Chinese emperor Kublai Khan. The subjection, however, was more nominal than real, as would appear from the following statement of Marco Polo: "They call themselves subjects of the Great Khan, but they pay him no tribute; indeed they are so far away that his men could not go thither. Still all these islanders declare themselves to be his subjects and sometimes they send curiosities as presents."

About Ferlec Marco Polo observes as follows:

"This kingdom is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahomet."

Thus Perlak was the only Muhammadan state in Sumatra in 1292 A.D. when Marco Polo visited the island. Within a few years another Muslim state was founded in Samudra, a petty kingdom which ultimately gave its name to the whole island.

About 1345-6 A.D. Ibn Baṭuṭa visited the kingdom of Samudra, which he calls Sumutra. He was welcomed by the

Muhammadan ruler of the place, Sultan Malik az-Zāhir. Ibn Baṭuṭa describes him as one of the most illustrious and generous kings, but says nothing definite about the extent of his kingdom. But that there were Hindu kingdoms on all sides is quite clear from his statement that the Sultan frequently fought with and defeated the infidels who lived in the neighbourhood, and they paid him tribute for living in peace.

Ibn Baṭuṭa's account shows the gradual spread of Islam as a political factor in northern Sumatra. There is no doubt that India, and not Arabia, served as the base from which the stream of colonisation carried the influence of Islam towards the Far East. An examination of the tombstones of the Sultans of Samudra-Pase reveals a close resemblance to those found in Gujarat, and there is hardly any doubt that they were imported from the latter place. We may thus presume a brisk trade activity between Gujarat and Sumatra, and this indirectly led to the furtherance of Islam in the Far East.

The importance of Sumatra as a centre of Islam was no doubt due to the fact that Pase (in Sumatra) had succeeded Kedah as the chief centre of trade. In the fifteenth century Malacca succeeded Pase and played the rôle of the leading Muslim state. After the fall of Malacca at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Acheen in northern Sumatra became the chief centre of trade and Islam.

2. THE RISE AND FALL OF MALACCA

Of the independent states in Malay Peninsula that rose into prominence about the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., the most important was undoubtedly that of Malacca, which rapidly grew to be the leading commercial centre in that region. The early history of this kingdom is involved in obscurity. The following account given by Albuquerque may be regarded as generally true.

"There reigned a king Bataratamurel (Bhaṭāra Tumapel) in Java, and a king Parimisura (Parameśvara) in Palembang. As there were frequent fights between the two they came to an agreement. Parimisura married the daughter of the king of Java, called Parimisuri (Parameśvarī), and agreed to pay tribute to his father-in-law. He, however, soon repented of his decision, and refused to pay either homage or tribute to the king of Java. The king of Java thereupon invaded Palembang, and Parimisura, being defeated, fled with the wife, children and some escorts to Singapura (Singapore). It was then a large and wealthy city under Siam and its governor hospitably received the royal fugitive. Parimisura, however, killed his host and made himself master of the city. On hearing this news his former subjects of Palembang, numbering 3000, came to Singapore. Parimisura welcomed them and lived there for five years, pillaging, with his fleet, the ships that passed through the Strait of Singapore.

"Then Parimisura was attacked by the chief of Patani, brother of the governor of Singapore whom he had so foully murdered. Being defeated, Parimisura fled with his people to the mouth of the Muar river inhabited only by a few fishermen. About this time 20 or 30 fishermen invited him to settle in their village, which was very fertile and yielded all necessaries of life. Parimisura, being satisfied by an examination of the locality, removed there with his family. The pirates in the sea touched at this port to take water, and being aided and encouraged by Parimisura they came there to sell their stolen goods. Thus it grew to be a commercial centre, and in two years the population rose to 2000. Parimisura named the settlement Malacca. Gradually merchants from Pase (in Sumatra) and Bengal came to trade there, and its importance rapidly increased. Parimisura died seven years after his settlement at Malacca; leaving a son called Xaquendarza (Sekandar Shah). Although the prince was a Hindu, he had married the daughter of the king of Pase who had adopted the Muhammadan religion a short while ago. Either at the request of his wife, or at the instance of his father-in-law, it was not long before he himself became a convert to Islam."

Sekandar Shah laid the foundations of the greatness of Malacca. He first of all tried to divert the trade centre from Singapore to Malacca. With this object he guarded the Straits of Malacca and neighbouring sea with a strong flotilla, and compelled the ships passing through it to take to Malacca instead of to Singapore. As it threatened complete ruin to the trade of Singapore, the king of Siam made preparations to fight. Sekandar, however, entered into an agreement with him. He acknowledged the suzerainty of Siam, and agreed to pay as tribute a sum equivalent to the revenues derived from Singapore. In return, all the islands from Singapore to Pulan Sembilan and the corresponding coastal region were ceded to Malacca. By this master-stroke of policy Sekandar Shah laid the foundation of the greatness of Malacca on the ruins of Singapore.

Sekandar was probably followed by two Hindu kings, and then by his Muhammadan son, Muzafar Shah, who conquered Pahang, in the Malay Peninsula, and Kampar and Indragiri in Eastern Sumatra. When kings of Pahang and Indragiri revolted in the next reign, they were defeated and their tribute was doubled.

Muzafar defeated the Siamese who attacked Malacca both by land and sea. He was the first ruler of Malacca who was designated as Sultan by the Chinese and the Portuguese. The next king Mansur extended the power of Malacca still further, both in the Peninsula and in Central Sumatra. In 1489 the fleet of siam was again completely defeated by Sultan Mahmud.

Sultan Mahmud, who thus gave promise of a vigorous and prosperous reign, was destined to bring his kingdom to utter ruin. The Sultan was addicted to opium and left the cares of government to his 'Bendahara' and maternal uncle Śrī Mahārāja Tun Mutahir. The term 'Bendahara,' perhaps derived from Sanskrit 'Bhāṇḍā-

gārika,' was the designation of a minister who had by this time practically usurped the royal power in Malacca.

In 1509, a few Portuguese ships arrived at Malacca. At first they were well received, but subsequently the Bendahara imprisoned twenty Portuguese and refused to set them at liberty. After the departure of the Portuguese ships, the king quarrelled with the Bendahara and killed him. When the country was thus passing through a period of turmoil and confusion, Albuquerque reached Malacca with a strong fleet (July 1511) to avenge the wrongs done to his countrymen. The Sultan conceded most of the demands of Albuquerque. He set the Portuguese prisoners at liberty and even granted permission to Albuquerque to build a fort. But the latter soon came to know of the internal condition of Malacca, and was joined by Timutarāja or Utimutarāja, the chief of the Javanese settlers in Malacca. Throwing aside all ideas of compromise Albuquerque invaded the city which surrendered in August. The unfortunate Sultan fled, at first to Pahang and then to Bintan. A few years later, he made an attempt to recover Malacca, but his efforts proved unsuccessful.

Thus perished a great and flourishing kingdom after a glorious career for about a century. As we have said above, Malacca was not only the seat of a great political power, but also a big centre of trade and commerce. Its commercial importance is described in glowing terms by the Portuguese writers who saw it in its days of glory. Duarte Barbosa, writing in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., gives the following graphic account of its trade and commerce.

"Many Moorish (Muhammadan) merchants reside in it and also Gentiles (Hindu), particularly Chetis who are natives of Cholmendel (Coromandel coast): and they are all very rich and have many large ships, which they call jungos (junks). They deal in all sorts of goods in different parts, and many other Moorish and Gentile merchants flock thither from other countries to trade; some in ships of two masts from China and other places, and they bring thither (*here follow a long list of articles of merchandise*). There also come thither many ships from Java which have four masts. From this place many ships sail to the Molucca islands....They also navigate to Tanasery (Tennasserim), Peygu (Pegu), Bengala (Bengal), Palecate (Pulicat), Cholmendel (Coromandel), Malabar, Cambay and Aden with all kinds of goods, so that this city of Malacca is the richest trading port and possesses the most valuable merchandise and most numerous shipping and extensive traffic, that is known in all the world. And it has got such a quantity of gold that the great merchants do not estimate their property, nor reckon otherwise than by *bahars* of gold, which are four *quintals* each *bahar*. There are merchants among them who will take up three or four ships laden with very valuable goods, and will supply them with cargo from their own property.... The king of Malacca has got much treasure, and a large revenue from the duties which he collects."

In the Commentaries of Albuquerque we find a similar descrip-

tion of the commercial importance of Malacca as a trading centre between the east and the west, where the ships, coming from the Eastern countries such as China, Java, Formosa, and other islands of Archipelago, exchanged cargo with that coming from Northern Sumatra and different parts in India and Arabia on the west. This city contained 100,000 souls and extended over a great length along the sea-coast.

Malacca played a very prominent part as a stronghold of Islam, and a centre of propaganda of that faith in the Far East. We have already seen how the second king married a Muhammadan lady and himself adopted the new faith. Although it is likely that he was followed by two Hindu kings, under his son Muzafar Shah the new faith was rapidly extended, partly by force, and partly by persuasion. When he defeated the kings of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri, he converted them to Islam by force and married them to three daughters of his brother. A number of Muhammadan merchants from Gujarat and Persia settled in Malacca, and, with the patronage of the king, these became powerful instruments of conversion. The following passage in the account of Jean de Barros clearly indicates that Malacca was a strong proselytising centre of the new faith.

"At the instigation of the Moors of Persia and Gujarat who had settled at Malacca for purposes of trade, the people were converted to the sect of Muhammad. The conversion rapidly spread among different nations, and Islam began to be propagated, not only in the neighbourhood of Malacca, but also at Sumatra, Java and in all the islands situated round these countries."

There is thus no doubt that the wealth and the commercial importance of Malacca gave a great impetus to the cause of Islam in Suvarṇadvīpa, and must be regarded as the deciding factor in the almost complete triumph of that faith in Malaya Peninsula.

The last Malay ruler of Malacca became the first ruler of Johor. By him and his descendants Islam was introduced into Johor, Riau and Lengga. It is to be noted that almost all the present Sultans of Malay (outside Selangor) claim descent from Parameśvara, and they are all followers of Islam. Even as late as 1537 A.D., vestiges of Hindu culture still remained at Malacca, and the people used to write with Indian letters.

3. THE END OF HINDU RULE IN JAVA

The accounts of the Chinese traveller Ma Huan (1416 A.D.) clearly indicate that while the Muhammadans formed an important colony in Java, mainly composed of foreign traders, permanently settled there, they had not as yet acquired any political power in the country.

It appears, however, from the Portuguese accounts that towards the close of the fifteenth century some of the harbours of Java were in the hands of Muhammadan chiefs, most probably Javanese converts. But they still recognised the authority of the Hindu king, and there is no reason to suppose that the latter hand suffered much in power or prestige. In 1509 the great Sultan of Malacca was afraid of an invasion by the king of Java, a fact which testifies to the latter's power and command over the sea. But gradually Islam spread in the interior, by marriage relations and other peaceful means. Thus we find that the dethroned Muslim chief of Pase, Zain-ul-Abedin, took refuge with the king of Java who was related to him. The royal family apparently also contained some converts to the new faith. By these means Islam got a firm hold on a small but influential community including a number of ruling chiefs, as well as members of royal family and high officials at court. When they felt themselves powerful enough, the members of the new faith naturally tried to oust the Hindu king as he steadily refused to give up his own religion. It seems to be almost certain, that the Hindu kingdom fell as a result of internal disruption brought on by the clash of religious beliefs, and not by any organised Muslim invasion from outside. The traditions even connect the new Muslim ruling dynasty with the old Hindu royal family, but this may or may not be true. The episode of Girīndravardhana makes it extremely doubtful if Majapahit was still the chief seat of Hindu authority. Even if it were so, it is by no means certain that the fall of Majapahit meant the downfall of the Hindu authority in Java. The Hindu king fought bravely against his own kith and kin who had adopted the new faith and wanted to seize the political authority. Even after the loss of Majapahit, he held out for some time in the eastern part of Java, and only a second defeat compelled him to leave Java and seek shelter in Bali. This took place about 1522 A.D.

The Muhammadan conquest of Majapahit was followed shortly by that of Sunda. It is clear from the Portuguese accounts that the Hindu kingdom of Sunda was overthrown by the coastal Muhammadan chiefs between 1522 and 1526 A.D. The king and nobles of Madura thereupon voluntarily accepted the new faith.

The overthrow of Majapahit and Sunda dealt a death-blow to the Hindu culture and civilisation which had flourished in Java for well-nigh fifteen hundred years. Hindu civilisation, and even Hindu rule, however, did not vanish altogether, but maintained a desperate struggle for existence in the outlying regions, in the east as well as in the west. In the east, the regions around and beyond mount Smeroe (Sumeru) offered the Hindus a safe retreating place.

According to a Portuguese account, the Muhammadan besiegers of Pasuruhan were forced to retreat in the middle of the sixteenth century. Even as late as 1600 A.D. Balambangan was an independent Hindu State, and remained as such for nearly two hundred years more.

But although these petty states kept alive the traditions of Hindu rule in Java, the main currents of Hindu culture now shifted to the east, and flowed freely only in the island of Bali, where the royal family and the aristocracy fled with a considerable element of the well-to-do people in Java. That island now possesses the unique distinction of preserving the old Hindu culture and civilisation, while in Java the old monuments alone remain to tell the tale of its past glory and grandeur.

4. THE BALI ISLAND

Recent investigations clearly prove that Bali was a Hindu colony with a distinct culture of its own, derived directly from India, and it was in no way a mere offshoot of the Indo-Javanese colony or civilisation. The fact that the language of the old inscriptions is Old-Balinese and not Old-Javanese is enough to discredit the generally accepted view that Bali derived its Hindu culture through Java, and we must regard the Hindu colony in that island as developing independently, and side by side, with that of Java and other islands in Suvarṇadvīpa.

The first historical king of Bali, definitely known to us, is Ugrasena whose known dates are 915 and 933 A.D. Then follow kings Tabanendravarmadeva and Chandrabhayasinghavarmadeva with dates 955 and 962 A.D., respectively. We next hear of king Janasādhuvarmadeva, ruling in A.D. 975, and queen Śrī-Vijayamahādevī ruling in 983. Another king, Śrī-Keśarivarmā, probably of the 10th century A.D., is described as lord of all neighbouring princes.

Not long after this, the island of Bali was conquered by the Javanese king Dharmavaṁśa, and ruled over by Udayana and Mahendradattā, as noted above. This introduced a new epoch in the cultural history of Bali. Henceforth Indo-Javanese culture makes a deep impress upon that of Bali, so much so that the culture and civilisation of Bali after 1022 has been regarded as Old-Javanese in character.

The internal conflict in Java which ultimately led to the fall of Kaḍiri in 1222, and the palace intrigues and revolutions in the newly established kingdom of Singhasāri, gave a good opportunity to Bali to free itself from the yoke of Java. Of this period only

one king is known to us, Parameśvara Śrī Hyang ning hyang Adilañchana, ruling in 1250 A.D. But during the reign of Kṛitanagara Java again found means to subdue the neighbouring island. A military expedition was sent to Bali in 1284 A.D. and its king was brought a prisoner before Kṛitanagara.

For nearly half-a-century after the tragic end of Kṛitanagara Bali remained an independent state. With the growth of the empire of Majapahit attempt was made to re-establish the supremacy of Java over Bali. The king of Bali strove hard to maintain his independence, but was totally routed, and his kingdom was added to the growing empire of Majapahit.

From this time Bali formed an integral part of the empire. The Majapahit conquest of Bali carried still further the process of Javanisation of that island which had already begun in the 11th century A.D. Henceforth, the two islands are very closely associated both in politics and culture. Bali formed a centre of Javanese literary life, which grew in importance in the same proportion in which it declined in Java itself. Bali carried on and developed the traditions of Java, first as a dependency of Majapahit, and then as an independent Javanese kingdom.

For, as we have seen above, the king of Majapahit, unable to withstand the onrush of Islam, took refuge in Bali with his followers. His example was followed by a large number of Javanese who found in migration to Bali the only means to save their religion and culture. Bali thus received a strong influx of Javanese element, and became the last stronghold of Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation, a position which it still happily maintains. It has not only contributed to the further development of Indo-Javanese culture, but has also preserved from oblivion much of it which Java herself lost as a result of conversion to the Muhammadan faith.

The subsequent history of Bali may thus be regarded as merely a continuation of Majapahit. Indeed, the popular notion in this respect is so strong, that most of the inhabitants of Bali style themselves, with pride, as Wong Majapahit or men of Majapahit. Only a few primitive tribes, scattered in hilly regions, are called, by way of contrast, 'Bali aga' or indigenous people of Bali.

The later history of the island may be briefly told. A prince of the royal family of Majapahit made himself overlord of the island. He assumed the title Deva-agung Ketut, and restored peace and order in the country. He chose Gelgel as his capital, and there his successors ruled till the end of the seventeenth century A.D., when the town was destroyed by the people of Karangasem, and the capital was removed to Klungkung.

Among the kings of Gelgel, Batu-Renggong occupies a prominent place. He ruled in the third quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. In addition to the whole of Bali, he ruled over Sasak and Sambawa, and a considerable part of Balambangan.

The death of Batu-Renggong was followed by a period of unrest and revolutions in course of which Bali lost all her foreign possessions. Balambangan proved the bone of contention between Bali and Matarām, and in 1639 the king of Matarām invaded Bali. The invasion proved unsuccessful, and Bali retained its hold upon Balambangan, until the latter passed into the hands of the Dutch towards the close of the eighteenth century.

From the very beginning of this period the kingdom of Bali was divided into several districts, each being placed under a governor. These governors gradually assumed an independent position, so that in the eighteenth century Bali was practically divided into nine autonomous states, till the Dutch conquered them all and established their supremacy over the whole island. This conquest of Bali did not, however, prove to be an easy task. The Dutch suzerainty was first acknowledged by the Balinese in 1839, but many expeditions were necessary before the Dutch could finally curb the independent spirit of the ruling chiefs. In 1908, the Deva-agung of Klungkung, the last heir of the Emperors of Majapahit, made a final effort to free himself from the foreign yoke. Even when his palace was beseiged by the Dutch, and there was no hope of success, he refused with scorn the offer of his enemy to save his life and family by an unconditional surrender. Remembering the proud examples of his Kshatriya forefathers, he seized the sacred sword, and boldly rushed out with his nobles, wives and children to meet with an end worthy of his race. Klungkung fell, and the remaining warlike elements of the place were interned at Lombok. In 1911, Klungkung was formally incorporated in the Dutch empire, and with that the Hindu rule in Bali came to an end.

BOOK II

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS OF HINDU CIVILISATION IN SUVARṆADVĪPA

1. Society

The fundamental basis of the Hindu society, and one which distinguishes it from all other known societies, is the system of caste. That this was introduced in Java, Madura and Sumatra is clear from the occurrence of the word *chaturvarṇa* in early records, and frequent reference to the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras in literature and inscriptions. This caste system, however, was not the same as is prevalent in Hindu society to-day, but, rather as it was in earlier times, such, for example, as we find depicted in Manu-Saṁhitā.

In order to convey an idea of the caste-system after its transplantation in the distant colonies, we can do no better than draw a picture of the system as it prevails to-day among the Balinese of Bali and Lombok.

The people are divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vesya (Vaiśya), and Śūdra. The first three castes are twice-born (*dvijāti*), while the Śūdras are *ekajāti* (once-born).

Marriage among different castes is prevalent, but while a man can marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman can only marry one of equal or higher caste. The union between a woman with a man of lower caste is punishable by death. The children of mixed marriages belong to the caste of the father, though they differ in rank and status according to the caste of their mother.

The Brāhmaṇas are divided into two broad classes according as they are worshippers of Śiva or Buddha. The first is again sub-divided into five groups, originating mainly from the marriage with lower castes.

The Kshatriyas are also sub-divided into five classes. Some, but not all the royal families in Bali belong to this caste. Their usual title is 'Deva' for the man and 'Desak' (*Skt.* Dāsī ?) for the woman.

Among the third caste, the Vaiśyas, the Aria (Ārya ?) forms the chief group to which belong the royal families in Bali who are not Kshatriyas.

The Śūdras, known generally as Kaulas, are not despised as impure or untouchable. The different castes are not tied down to specific occupations; for example, men of all castes take to agriculture. The Śūdras, in addition to agriculture, also follow other arts and crafts.

In Bali, we meet with another characteristic feature of ancient Indian caste-system, *viz.*, the privileges enjoyed in law courts by the higher caste. Here, again, for the same offence, the law lays down punishment in inverse ratio to the superiority of the caste of the offender, and in direct ratio to that of the offended.

As to the superiority, although the four castes hold a relative position similar to that in India, the ruling princes, be they of Kshatriya or Vaiśya caste, are regarded as superior to their Brāhmaṇa subjects. This is due to the theory that kings are representatives of God. It must be noted, however, that although superior, even a king cannot marry a Brāhmaṇa girl. In practice, however, even this is done by legal subterfuge. "Mr. Zollinger, in his interesting account of Lombok, gives an example. The young Raja of Matarām in that island, a Balinese, fell in love with the daughter of the chief Deva. In order to possess her, friendly legal ceremony became necessary. The Brāhmaṇa went through the form of expelling his daughter from his house, denouncing her as a 'wicked daughter.' She was then received into the Raja's house as a Vaiśya and became a princess."

Two other social institutions in Bali may be referred to in connection with the caste-system. First, the Satī or the burning of a widow along with the body of her dead husband. This is forbidden in the case of the Śūdras, and in late periods came to be confined only to royal families. There were two kinds of self-immolation. In one case the wife first killed herself by the *Kris* (sword) and then her body was placed on the funeral pyre; in the other case the wife jumped into the funeral pyre. Sometimes even the slaves and concubines of the dead also perished with him.

Secondly, we may refer to the slaves as forming a distinct class in society. Slavery may be due to one of the following circumstances: (1) birth, (2) non-payment of debt or fines, (3) imprisonment in war, or (4) poverty. Although severely punished for crimes or attempts to escape, the lot of a slave is on the whole tolerable.

In general, the position of a woman in Java seems to have been much better than in India, so far as the political rights were

concerned. Guṇapriyā Dharmapatnī ruled in her own rights, and in the official record her name was placed before that of her husband. The records of Airlangga show that a lady named Śrī Sangrāmavijaya Dharmaprasādottunga-devī occupied the post of 'rakryan Mahāmantri i hino' next only to that of the king. Rājapatnī succeeded Jayanagara, and her eldest daughter acted as regent for her although this daughter had a son. Again, we know that after the death of Vikramavardhana, his daughter Suhitā ascended the throne although she had two brothers. It is also interesting to note that on ceremonial occasions, such as the establishment of a freehold, the wives of officials are stated in the inscriptions to have received presents from the king along with their husbands.

There does not appear to be any *purdah* system in vogue, and the women freely mixed with men. This is evident from literature as well as present-day customs in Bali. Women could choose their own husbands, and we find actual reference to *Svayamvara* in the case of princess Bhreng Kahuripan. There seems to be no restriction as to the degree of relationship within which marriage relation was prohibited. The case of Aji Jayanagara shows that even marriage with a step-sister was not forbidden.

The details of marriage ceremony in Java may be gathered from the following description :

"When a man marries, he goes first to the house of the bride to conclude the marriage, and three days afterwards he brings his wife home, on which occasion the relations of the bride-groom beat copper drums and gongs, blow on cocoanut shells, beat drums made of bamboo, and burn fireworks, whilst a number of men armed with small swords surround them. The bride has hair hanging loose, the upper part of her body and feet naked ; round her waist a piece of green flowered cloth is fastened ; on her head she wears strings of golden beads, and on the wrists bracelets of gold and silver nicely ornamented."

Some of the Chinese accounts testify to a very high degree of conjugal love and fidelity. In Hsing-Cha Sheng-lan (15th century A.D.) occurs the following passage about the people of Ma-yi-tung which has been identified with Banka.

"They highly value chastity, and when a husband dies, his wife cuts her hair, lacerates her face and does not eat for seven days, sleeping all the time together with the dead body of her husband. Many die during this time, but if one survives after seven days, her relations exhort her to eat ; she may then live, but never marries again. On the day that the husband is burned, many wives throw themselves into the fire and die also."

The king occupied an exalted position and was sometimes regarded as divine. From a very early period the king imitated the grandeur and luxury of the Indian Court.

The residence of the king and the nobles was built of brick and wood, sometimes covered by Chinese tiles, while the dwellings of the people were mostly bamboo cottages covered with straw, the

walls being filled in with leaves, and the poles fastened with rattan.

Rice formed the ordinary article of food, at least in Java. Another Indian characteristic was the chewing of betel. They drank wine made from flowers, cocoanuts (probably palm-tree), *penang* or honey.

The people had various amusements to enjoy their lives. Gambling seems to have been widely prevalent. The people of San-fo-tsi played pa-kui, chess or arranged cock-fight, in all cases staking money. Cock-fighting was also a favourite pastime in Java. More innocent amusements were trips to mountains or rivers. We are told about Java :

> "In the fifth month they go in boats for their amusement, and in the tenth month they repair to the mountain to enjoy themselves there. They have mountain ponies which carry them very well, and some go in mountain chairs."

The women of Java had their own modes of enjoyment.

> "On every fifteenth and sixteenth day of the month, when the moon is full and the night is clear, the native women form themselves into troops of 20 or 30, one woman being the head of them all, and so they go arm in arm to walk in the moonshine; the head woman sings one line of native song and the others afterwards fall in together; they go to the houses of their relations and of rich and high people when they are rewarded with copper cash and such things. This is called "making music in the moonshine."

Music seems to be fairly cultivated all over Suvarṇadvīpa. Dancing has always been a very popular entertainment in Java. Sometimes even princesses are described as proficient in the art of dancing.

The most important amusement was the *Wayang* or shadow-play which originated in Java. It still forms one of the most interesting and unique forms of amusements in Java, Bali, Lombok, Malay Peninsula, and other places.

The Javanese have several kinds of theatrical performances. First, the ordinary kind, in which the dramatic characters are represented by men. The only feature that deserves special notice herein is that the actors wear masks except when they perform before their sovereign. Secondly, the *Wayang* proper. Although the term *Wayang* is now used for theatre in general, it technically means a shadow-play. The essential features of a *Wayang* proper are that the actors are represented by shadows which the puppets throw from behind on a white screen, in front of the audience. The puppets are made of leather, generally of buffalo's hide, and painted and gilt with great care. The performer (*dalang*) sits behind the screen under a lamp, and manipulates the puppets so as to suit their actions to the speech which he himself recites from behind on behalf of all the actors. The movements of the puppets are rendered quite easy as they are cut in profile and have loose arms

which can be moved by wooden sticks. Its themes are usually derived from the two Indian epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Thus on the whole we find that poetry, drama, music, and dance formed the highest classes of amusement, at least in Java, and the spirit of these was undoubtedly derived from India.

Lastly, we may turn to the final rites of a man, which form such a characteristic feature of every society. As regards the disposal of the dead, burning, throwing into water, and exposure to wilderness for being devoured by birds or dogs seem to have been the chief practices. It is said about Dva-pa-tan, usually identified with Bali, that "when one of them dies, they fill his mouth with gold, put golden bracelet on his legs and arms, and after having added camphor oil, camphor baros and other kinds of perfumery, they pile up firewood and burn the corpse." In Kora or Kalah (Malay Peninsula), after the bodies were burnt the ashes were put in a golden jar and sunk into the sea.

In this connection we may refer to the present practice of cremation at Bali. It consists of a series of ceremonies and requires much time and much money. Immediately after death the body is embalmed, *i.e.* covered successively with spices, coins, clothes, mats, and a covering of split bamboo. In this state the body remains for a length of time, until three days before the cremation, the corpse is stripped of its coverings and the relatives look upon the dead for the last time. The dead body is then placed on the funeral carriage which is a sort of moving chariot, consisting of a base made of bamboo with a superstructure of bamboo or wood, in the form of a pyramid of three to eleven storeys. Of course the structure and its decoration vary with the wealth of the family and are very gorgeous in the case of princes.

The funeral carriage is then taken to the cremation ground in a long procession, accompanied by music, and also by armed men in the case of members of a royal family. The articles of daily use and holy water from the sacred places, both Hindu and Buddhist, are carried with the procession.

At the place of cremation the corpse is taken down from the carriage and placed into the coffin, which stands on a two-storeyed chamber. At last, after the *Padaṇḍa* (*priest*) has muttered the sacred texts and sprinkled the holy water on the body, a fire is kindled beneath the coffin. After the corpse is consumed the bones are collected and carried the next day with great state to the sea and thrown into it together with money and offerings.

2. JAVANESE LITERATURE

From an early date Indian literature was carried to Java, though the nature and extent of this importation are not exactly known. The study of this literature led to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature, which forms one of the most characteristic features of Indian colonisation in that island. Nowhere else, outside India, has Indian literature been studied with so much advantage and with such important consequences.

As we have seen above, the history of the Indian colony in Java may be divided into three broad chronological periods, according as the chief seat of political authority was in the west, centre, and the east of the island. For the first of these periods, we have no trace of any literature proper, although the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman clearly testify to the knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. This knowledge becomes more intensive and extensive during the second period. This is proved not only by inscriptions, but also by the extensive monuments of the period, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, as the sculptures carved therein are mostly, if not exclusively, illustrations of Indian books. This period also probably saw the beginnings of Indo-Javanese literature; I say probably, because only three books may be tentatively ascribed to this period, and the date of each of them is a subject-matter of great controversy. It is only when we come to the third period that we find the Indo-Javanese literature taking a definite shape. For nearly five hundred years (1000-1500 A.D.) this literature had an unbroken and flourishing career in the east under the patronage of the kings of Kaḍiri or Daha, Singhasāri and Majapahit.

The Muslim conquest of Majapahit brought to an end what is usually called the Old-Javanese literature. The subsequent development of Javanese literature took place in different localities. The Javanese who took refuge in Bali continued the literary efforts, and their literary products are referred to as Middle-Javanese. On the other hand, there was a revival of literary culture in Central Java, in the new Muslim kingdom of Matarām, and the result was the growth of what is called the New-Javanese literature.

The artificial classic language of the New-Javanese literature is called Kavi. Formerly this word was used to denote the old language of Java in general, but now the term Old-Javanese is used to indicate the language which was current up to the fall of Majapahit, and the Middle-Javanese to indicate that used by the Javanese in Bali. We thus get three broad divisions of Indo-Javanese literature, *viz.*—

1. Old-Javanese. 2. Middle-Javanese. 3. New-Javanese.

In the following pages we shall make an attempt to give a short account of the first two only, as the third really falls beyond the Hindu period in Java.

The Old-Javanese literature is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre, its subject-matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. But even in subject-matter the deviation from the Sanskrit original is often considerable.

As already said above, the beginnings of this literature may be traced to the period when Central Java was the political centre of the island. The earliest book that we may definitely refer to this period is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work, *Amaramālā,* which like Sanskrit *Amarakośa,* and other Indian lexicons, contains synonyms of different gods, goddesses, and other animate and inanimate objects.

The composition of the Old-Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* may also be referred to the same period. This is one of the best and most famous works of Indo-Javanese literature. It is not a translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Its subject-matter agrees quite well with that of Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa,* but it concludes with the reunion of Rama and Sītā after the fire-ordeal of the latter, and does not contain the story of her banishment and death.

The next important landmark in connection with the development of Old-Javanese literature is the prose translation of the great epic *Mahābhārata* during the reign of Dharmavaṁśa. The Old-Javanese translation of Ādi-Parva, Virāṭa-Parva, and Bhīshma-Parva may be definitely ascribed to the initiative and patronage of this king, while the Āśrama-Parva, Musala-Parva, Prasthānika-Parva, and Svargārohaṇa-Parva are of later date. There is also a version of Udyoga-Parva, written in very corrupt Sanskrit, and full of lacunae. The Virāṭa-Parva was composed in 996 A.D., just ten years before Java was overtaken by the great catastrophe which destroyed both Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom.

The Old-Javanese translations closely follow the original epic, but are more condensed. Their style is very primitive and lacks literary merit. Their importance, however, cannot be over-estimated, as they made the Great Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit merits of a very high order.

The first work of this kind is *Arjuna-Vivāha,* written by Mpu Kanwa under the patronage of Airlangga (1019-1042 A. D.). It deals with an episode from the Mahābhārata in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivāta Kavacha.

Two other poetical works may be referred to the beginning of the Kaḍiri period. The first is *Kṛishṇāyaṇa* by Triguṇa. It deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha. The next work *Sumanasāntaka* (death caused by a flower) is based on the story of the death of Indumatī, the queen of Aja and the mother of Daśaratha, so marvellously dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work Raghuvaṁśa.

We next come to the most flourishing period of the Old-Javanese literature, *viz.*, the reign of Jayabhaya (1135-1157 A.D.). The greatest work of this period, which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation, is *Bhārata-yuddha,* an independent work based on the Udyoga-Parva, Bhīshma-Parva, Droṇa-Parva, Karṇa-Parva, and Śalya-Parva of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata,* in other words, those parts of the great epic of India which deal with the great war. It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur, according to eminent critics, is comparable to that of the Greek epics. It was written by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A.D., by order of the Kaḍirian king Jayabhaya. According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh.

Mpu Panuluh, who completed the *Bhārata-yuddha,* evidently during the reign of Jayabhaya, also composed another poetical work, *Harivaṁśa,* during the same reign. This book, like its Indian prototype, deals with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛishṇa and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped the latter. This last episode is not in the original Indian work.

Kāmeśvara II (1185 A.D.) maintained the brilliant literary traditions of the Kaḍirian court. The most famous work written under his patronage was *Smaradahana.* This work is based on the well-known episode of the burning of Smara or the god of Love by Śiva which has been so masterfully dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work *Kumāra-sambhavam.*

The famous *Bhomakāvya* is also attributed to the period of Kāmeśvara II. It describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma, or Naraka, son of Pṛithivī, and finally his death in the hands of Kṛishṇa.

In the fourteenth century, during the flourishing period of Majapahit, we get a unique poem, the *Nāgara-Kṛitāgama,* written by Prapañcha in A.D., 1365. Unlike the usual poems based on the Indian epics, it takes as its theme the life and times of Hayam Wuruk, the famous king of Majapahit, and supplies us very interesting information about the king, his capital city, his court, and his vast empire.

The class of poetical works we have hitherto described is called Kakawin, from 'Kavi' meaning Kāvya. They are all written in Old-Javanese language and their subject-matter is derived mostly from Indian Epics and Purāṇas. In addition to the works mentioned above, there are many other Kakawins, which, however, cannot be dated even approximately.

Special reference may be made to the Kakawin work, called in Java '*Nītiśāstra-kawin,*' but now known in Bali as *Nītisāra.* The work may be referred to the closing years of the Majapahit period. It consists of a number of detached *ślokas* containing wise sayings, maxims, moral precepts, religious doctrines, etc., such as we find in Sanskrit works called *Nītisāra, Pañchatantra, Chāṇakya-śataka,* etc. in India. In many cases the Javanese verses may be easily traced to their Indian original.

The Kakawins form the first of the three grand divisions of the Old-Javanese literature. The second division comprises religious and doctrinal texts, like *Sūrya-Sevana, Gāruḍeya mantra,* etc. The third, the prose works, may be subdivided, according to their contents, into four classes. Two of these deal with law and religion and the third comprises prose works based on Indian Epics and Purāṇas.

The Mahābhārata series begins with the Old-Javanese translations of the different Parvas of the Mahābhārata. Another work of the same series is *Koravāśrama,* a late work, in which a great deal of modification of the epic is noticeable. To this class also belongs *Sāra-Samuchchaya,* an Old-Javanese translation of a large number of moral precepts chiefly drawn from Anuśāsanaparvan of the *Mahābhārata.* It is interspersed with quotations of Sanskrit verses from the epics and other Indian books such as *Pañchatantra.*

Navaruchi, a very popular work in Bali, describes the exploits of Bhīma. Of the other epic, we have the prose translation of Uttarakāṇḍa in Old-Javanese. It is interspersed with Sanskrit verses and its last two chapters are named Rāmaprasthānikam and Svarggārohaṇam, agreeing in all these respects with the Javanese version of Mahābhārata. Like the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, it shows divergences from the original Sanskrit text.

Of the Purāṇa class of works *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa* is undoubtedly the most important. It closely follows the model of the Indian Purāṇa, though Javanese touches occur here and there.

Another work of the same class is *Agastyaparva,* where Agastya describes to his son Dṛiddasyu the creation of the world in right Puranic style.

The fourth category of Old-Javanese prose literature comprises texts of secular character, dealing with a variety of subjects such as History, Linguistics, Medicine etc.

After having made a brief survey of the Old-Javanese literature we may next turn to the Middle-Javanese.

The extent and compass of the Middle-Javanese literature is fairly large. The most important works are those of historical character written both in prose and in poetry. The poetical works of the Middle-Javanese literature use new kinds of metre and are known as Kidung.

Of the prose works the most important is *Pararaton* which has been already referred to in the historical account of Java. It begins with the story of Ken Angrok (or Arok) and gives the outline of the political history of Java for nearly three centuries during the Singhasāri and Majapahit periods. The work was composed in 1613 A.D.

Another work, the *Usana Java,* contains traditions about the history of Bali.

Next there is a class of historical chronicles known as *Pamañchangah.* We have not only general works of this name but also local chronicles, written both in prose and poetry. Of the remaining poetical works, called Kidung, the most important is the Panji series, *i.e.,* those dealing with the romantic adventures of the famous hero Panji.

Next to the Panji-cycle may be mentioned the class of folk-tales and fables known as Tantri. These works are based on *Hitopadeśa* and *Pañchatantra,* but contains many new stories. This class of literary works is found not only in Javanese but also in Balinese, Siamese and Laotian languages, showing the great popularity of the subject. The preamble is, however, different. Instead of the usual introductory episode of Vishṇuśarman instructing his royal disciples, the stories are put in the mouth of a queen, the last of a long series who were daily married and put off by the king for a new one, thus reminding us of the introduction of the Arabian *Thousand and One Nights.*

Epic and mythological stories form the basis of many poetical works of the Kidung class. The *Sang Satyavan* is of more than passing interest as it gives a Javanese version of the famous episode of Sāvitrī. There are some Kidungs with independent plots of romantic character and not based upon epic or mythology.

3. RELIGION

We have described above in a broad outline how the religious systems of India—both Brahmanical and Buddhist—were spread in Suvarṇadvīpa and took deep root in its soil even during the

early period of Hindu colonisation. As centuries rolled by, the Indian religions made a more thorough conquest of the land, and it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that so far as faiths, beliefs, and religious practices are concerned the colonies in the Far East were almost a replica of the motherland. Of course, we should not expect that the indigenous faiths and practices vanished altogether. As in India itself, these were partly eliminated by, and partly absorbed into, the higher and more developed system, but in some respects the latter also was affected and moulded by the former.

All these observations are specially applicable to Java and Kambuja, the only colonies which furnish us detailed evidence of the various stages of religious development.

THE BRAHMANICAL RELIGION IN JAVA

About the beginning of the eighth century A.D. we find the Pauranik form of Brahmanical religion firmly established in Java. In essence, it consisted of the worship of three principal divinities, *viz.*, Brahmā the creator, Vishṇu the protector, and Śiva the destroyer, together with their Śaktis or divine spouses and a host of minor gods and goddesses related to them.

The position of supremacy among them was undoubtedly accorded to Śiva. That it was not a mere personal or local factor, but generally true of both Central and Eastern Java, clearly follows from a study of the literature, inscriptions and monuments of Java.

This great god Śiva was regarded not only as the agent for the destruction of the world, but also of its renovation. He had thus both a benevolent and a terrible nature. These two aspects are represented in Javanese iconography by the two human forms of the god known as Mahādeva and Mahākāla or Bhairava.

To these forms of Śiva correspond two different forms of his Śakti. The Śakti of Mahādeva is Devī, Mahādevī, Pārvatī or Umā, the daughter of Himālaya. A particular form of this goddess is Durgā or Mahishāsuramarddinī. The Śakti of Mahākāla or Bhairava is Mahākālī or Bhairavī.

The image of Gaṇeśa, the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, is very common in Java, and follows in general the Indian prototype. The war-god Kārtikeya, another son of Śiva, is also well-known in Java. Lastly, it may be mentioned, that Śiva was also worshipped in the form of Liṅga.

Vishṇu, the second member of the trinity, never attained in Java a position or importance equal to that of his rival Śiva, though under some dynasties he enjoyed very high honour and rank. His Śakti, Śrī or Lakshmī, is usually represented with four arms holding lotus, ear of corn, fly-whisk and rosary, and the rider (vāhana)

Garuḍa is also represented in Java. Most of his *avatāras* or incarnations specially Kṛishṇa, Rāma, Matsya, Varāha, and Narasiṁha, are represented by images. The devotees of Vishṇu were undoubtedly less in number than those of Śiva and Buddha, and Vaishṇavism ranked in importance next only to Śaivism and Buddhism.

The images of Brahmā, the remaining member of the trinity, are comparatively few in number.

The image of Trimūrti *i.e.*, of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva combined together, is also found in Java.

Another image, which is very popular in Java, is usually styled Bhaṭāra-Guru. It is a two-armed standing figure of an aged pot-bellied man with moustache and peaked beard, and holding in his hands, trident, water-pot, rosary and fly-whisk. This image is usually regarded as a representation of Śiva Mahāyogin (the great ascetic), and his universal popularity is explained by supposing that an originally Indonesian divinity was merged in him. Some are, however, of opinion, that the image represents the sage Agastya. The extreme veneration for, and the popularity of the worship of, Agastya in Java are reflected in the inscriptions, and this view seems eminently reasonable.

In addition to the principal gods and goddesses described above, we come across the images of various minor gods in Java. In short, almost all the gods of Hindu pantheon are represented in Java, and the following observation of Crawfurd, made more than a century ago, can hardly be regarded as an exaggertion.

"Genuine Hindu images, in brass and stone, exist throughout Java in such variety, that I imagine there is hardly a personage of the Hindu mythology, of whom it is usual to make representations, that there is not a statue of."

There is an extensive religious literature in Java, based on Indian texts. They show how the theology, mythology, religious concepts, and the philosophy of Pauranik Hinduism made a thorough conquest of Java.

BUDDHISM

We now turn to the other great religious sect, *viz.*, Buddhism. We have seen above that the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism was prevalent all over Suvarṇadvīpa towards the close of the seventh century A.D. But the next century saw a great change, at least in Java and Sumatra. The Hīnayāna form was practically ousted by Mahāyāna which had a triumphal career in Sumatra and Java during the period of the Śailendra supremacy.

In Java, it led to the erection of the famous Barabuḍur and several other magnificent temples. Buddhism, particularly its Mahāyāna form, became a ,very popular religion in Java and Sumatra among the masses. On the whole it may be safely presumed that as in the old days, Suvarṇadvīpa continued to be a strong centre of Buddhism. The international character of Buddhism gave Suvarṇadvīpa a status and importance, and brought it into intimate contact with India and the other Buddhist countries. It has already been stated above that the Śailendra kings were in close touch with the political powers of India and that the Buddhist preachers from Bengal exerted influence on Javanese Buddhism. It is also on record that eminent Buddhist scholars like Atīsa Dīpaṅkara of Bengal (eleventh century A.D.) and Dharmapāla of Kāñchī, who was a Professor at Nālandā in the seventh century A.D., went to Suvarṇadvīpa for study, as it formed an important seat of Buddhist learning. The study of Buddhist literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Barabuḍur and other religious monuments which presuppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches.

The international character of Buddhism perhaps explains the absence of any material modification of its principal tenets and beliefs. This is best illustrated by a study of the Buddhist iconography in Java. Here the entire heirarchy of the Mahāyānist gods makes its appearance.

The later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India are also met with in Java. We may note in particular four of them, *viz.* (1) The adoption of Hindu gods in the Buddhist pantheon, (2) introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, some of a terrible appearance, (3) the development of Tantrik mode of worship, and (4) the gradual rapprochement between Mahāyāna and Brahmanical religion.

The close association between Śiva and Buddha is a characteristic feature of Javanese religion. The two deities have been identified in such books as *Kuñjarakarṇa* and *Sutasoma*. In modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva, and there is a close affinity between the two doctrines. A similar Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java. Further, Śiva, Vishṇu and Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis.

The picture of Javanese religion, based on literature and iconography, corresponds to the present religious views and practices in Bali. Nevertheless as Hinduism is still a living religion in Bali we get naturally more details about its actual working than is

possible in the case of Java. The following account of Balinese religion should, therefore, be regarded more as a supplement to the sketch we have drawn above than as an independent picture.

The Balinese mind is strongly dominated by a religious feeling inasmuch as they have a strong belief in the unbounded influence of gods and Butas, *i.e.* good and evil spirits, over the entire destiny of man. Their whole life may almost be described as an unceasing struggle to befriend the former and to appease the latter. The religious performances thus occupy a prominent place in Balinese life, and their ultimate object may be described as honouring the gods and ancestors and propitiating the evil spirits. The Balinese worship may be divided into two classes, domestic and public. The most important in the first category is Sūrya-Sevana or worship of Śiva as Sūrya (Sun). The following account of an actual performance given by an eye-witness may serve as an apt illustration.

"The Padaṇḍa (priest) is clothed in white, with the upper part of the body naked, after the Balinese-Indian manner. He sits with his face to the east, and has before him a board upon which stand several small vessels containing water and flowers, some grains of rice, a pan with fire (*dhūpa-pātra*) and a bell. He then mumbles, almost inaudibly, some words or prayers from Vedas (sic), dipping the flowers into the water and waving them and a few grains of rice before him (towards the east) with the forefinger and thumb of his right hand, whilst at the same time he holds up the pan containing fire. After having proceeded with his prayers for some time, during which he makes all kinds of motions with his fingers and turns his rosary, he appears to be inspired by the deity; Śiva has, as it were, entered into him; this manifests itself in convulsions of the body, which grow more and more severe, and then gradually cease. The deity having thus entered into him, he no longer sprinkles the water and flowers towards the east alone, but also towards his own body, in order to pay homage to the deity which has passed into it. The bells are not used in the ordinary daily worship, but only at the full and new moons and cremations."

In addition to Sūrya-Sevana, there are other domestic religious ceremonies of the type described in the Gṛihya-Sūtras, performed on important occasions of a man's life, such as the birth of a child; the cutting of the navel-string; the name-giving ceremony; the piercing of the ears; marriage; death; funeral; birthdays of family members; and also on occasions of illness, beginning of harvest *etc.*

Each house has got a domestic chapel where daily worship is offered to the tutelary deities with flowers and delicacies. These are prepared by the ladies of the family who bring them to the chapels and reverently deposit them before the god. The chapel is usually enclosed by a wall, along the side of which are wooden or stone niches dedicated to particular gods who receive occasional worship.

For public worship each district has three or four general

temples. In addition to the regular worship in these temples there are annual religious ceremonies or feasts on fixed dates. *e.g.* (1) Menjepi, on a new-moon day, for driving away the evil spirits: (2) Usaba (utsaba ?) in honour of Śrī, the goddess of agriculture: (3) Sara-Sevati (Sarasvatī) for consecration of books or manuscripts; (4) Tumpek-landep, for consecration of weapons; and others on the birth-days of principal gods and chiefs, on the anniversary of the foundation of each temple, on the coronation of kings, on the conquest of a state, on the outbreak of epidemics for the welfare of domestic animals *etc.*

The worship of ancestors forms an important part of the Balinese religion. Each dwelling house has got one or more small temples for this purpose. The worship consists mainly of presenting offerings and chanting (or secretly uttering) *mantras* from scriptures. These vary for different deities and different occasions. The offerings are usually made up of ordinary articles of food (grains, fruits and meat) and drink, clothes, and money. Animal sacrifices are chiefly reserved for Kāla, Durgā, Butas, Rākshasas and other evil spirits. Hen, duck, young pig, buffalo, goat, deer and dog are usually sacrificed. But sometimes we hear even of human sacrifices.

The well-known accessory articles of Indian worship such as *ghṛita* (clarified butter), *kuśa-grass, tila* (sesamum) and *madhu* (honey) are also used in Bali. One of the most important items is the holy water. Although rivers in Bali are named after the sacred rivers in India, *viz.* Gaṅgā, Sindhu, Yamunā, Kāverī, Sarayū and Narmadā, the Balinese recognise that those rivers are really in Kling (India), and the water of these Balinese rivers is not regarded as holy. The water is therefore rendered sacred by the priests by uttering *mantras*.

The *Padaṇḍa* or priest who conducts the worship is usually a Brāhmaṇa. He attains to this position by learning the sacred texts, both Sanskrit and Kavi, and following a course of religious training under a *Guru,* who then formally consecrates him. The *Padaṇḍa* is rewarded for his services by a portion of the offerings. Remnants of his food and drink (which he takes after finishing the religious ceremony) are regarded as holy and are consumed by the people present. The *Toyatirta* or holy water used in the ceremony is eagerly solicited and even bought by the people. Besides domestic and public religious ceremonies, his services are also required on the occasion of cremations. In addition to these he works as teacher, astronomer, and astrologer for the public. One of his most important functions is to consecrate every newly made weapon, as otherwise it would not be effective.

4. ART

The art in Suvarṇadvīpa, like its parent art in India, and the sister-art in other colonies, may be described as the hand-maid of religion. All the monuments of this art, so far discovered, are religious structures, and religion has provided its sole aim and inspiration from beginning to end. Although numerous temples once decorated various parts of Malay Peninsula and the East Indies, these are mostly in ruins, except in Java, where a few are still in a fair state of preservation. These alone enable us to form some idea of the grandeur and magnificence of the art of Suvarṇadvīpa which was derived from India. Indeed Indo-Javanese art and Indo-Javanese literature constitute the greatest and most durable memorial of the Indian culture and civilisation in these far-off regions.

Indo-Javanese art excels both in architecture and sculpture, and these are closely associated, inasmuch as the important specimens of the latter are furnished either by the decoration of religious structures or the images enshrined therein. A fair idea of both may be obtained by the description of a few select specimens out of the numerous monuments which lie scattered all over Java.

The religious structures in Java are known by the general appellation Chaṇḍi, and, with a few notable exceptions, they are all temples. The general plan of the temples is more or less uniform with variations in details. They consist of three distinct parts, a high and decorated basement, the square body of the temple with a vestibule in front and projections on all other sides, and the roof. The roof consists of a series of gradually diminishing storeys, each repeating on a minor scale the general plan of the temple itself, *viz.* a cubic structure with four niches on four sides. To the four corners are four diminutive turrets which again are miniature reproductions of the temple. In the cases of some great structures, the upper stages of the roof are made octagonal, instead of rectangular, in order to relieve the monotony.

The interior of the temple is a plain square chamber. Its walls, rising vertically up to a certain height, support a series of horizontal courses of stone which, projecting one in front of the other, form an inverted pyramid of steps, and is terminated by a high and pointed hollow cone,—the whole corresponding to the storied pyramidal roof outside. The decorative ornaments, which consisted of well-known Indian motives such as rosette, garland, floral scroll, arabesque, various naturalistic designs and floral or geometrical patterns, are derived from India and there is no trace of local flora or fauna. One very frequently occurring motive, however, deserves

particular notice. The Dutch archaeologists describe it as Kāla-Makara. It really consists of two separate notives Kāla and Makara, though sometimes they are found united to form a single combined motive. The Kāla-head is shaped like the head of a monster, and is taken to be an effigy of the terrible god Kāla. But it is really derived from the Indian motive of lion's head, and Coomaraswamy rightly describes it as a grotesque Kīrttimukha. It is a conventional lion's head with protruding eyes, broad nose, and thick upper lip with two big projecting teeth on two sides.

The Kāla-head is usually placed right over a gateway, or above a niche, in the centre of the enclosing arch, ending in a Makara-head at its two ends. Makara-heads are also placed at the foot of door-jambs. These motives are also found at the top of the staircase and various other parts of the building. In short, the Kāla-Makara motive, combined, or separated into two elements, occurs almost everywhere, and is one of the most favourite decorative devices of Indo-Javanese art.

Two peculiarities of Javanese temples may be noted here. In the first place, columns and pillars are wholly lacking. Secondly, the arches are all constructed on horizontal principle, as in ancient India, and the true or radiating arches are conspicuous by their absence.

It is not necessary here to describe in detail the various temples in Java which conform to this standard type. They are often found in groups with one or more big temples in the centre, surrounded by numerous smaller ones. Although, therefore, with a few exceptions no individual temple in Java is of vast dimensions, this grouping of numerous temples within one enclosure served to give a colossal character to the whole structure.

In Central Java, which contains the earlier structures, ranging in date between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., we have several such groups of both Brahmanical and Buddhist temples.

On Dieng plateau, 6,500 ft. high and surrounded by hills on almost all sides, are a number of temples called after the heroes and heroines of the Mahābhārata. They are generally regarded as the oldest in Java and probably belong to the eighth century A.D. Although they are comparatively small in dimensions, their simple and clear outline, and restrained but well-conceived decorations endow them with a special importance. The sculptures are also characterised by a simplicity and vigour worthy of the temples which they adorned. On the whole the art of Dieng is characterised by a sobriety and dignity which reminds us of the Indian temples of the Gupta period (Pl. I, fig. 1).

The images found in the plateau of Dieng belong exclusively

to the Brahmanical pantheon. We have images of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇesa, Brahmā and Vishṇu. The temples were thus Brahmanical, and to judge from the extant remains, mainly of Śaivite character.

A famous group of Buddhist temples lies in the Prambanan valley which forms a rich treasure-house of the products of the art of Central Java. The region stands on the border of the modern districts of Jogyakerta and Surakerta. It was a seat of one or more cities or capitals, and not merely a city of temples like Dieng. The most notable temples in this region are Chaṇḍi Kalasan, Chaṇḍi Sari and Chaṇḍi Sevu. Chaṇḍi Sevu is the biggest Buddhist sanctuary except Barabuḍur. A rectangular paved courtyard, measuring about 200 yds. by 180 yds., is surrounded on each side by two rows of temples, altogether 168 in number. The main temple which occupies the centre of the court yard is similarly surrounded by two rows of temples in the form of squares, with 12 and 8 respectively on each side, thus making a total of 72. The main temple is thus surrounded by 240 temples, and there are traces of five more between the first two and the last two rows. The group thus formed had, again, one anterior temple on each side, at a distance of about 330 yds. There was thus a total of 250 temples including the main temple (Pl. I, fig. 2).

The main temple, situated on an elevated plane, formed the worthy centre of this vast complex of sanctuaries, each successive row of which was on a lower plane than the others. The sloping roofs of the vestibules of the first and last rows of temples accentuated the gradual slope and gave a pyramidal appearance to the whole which was probably constructed in the ninth century A.D.

About midway between the Dieng Plateau in the north-west and the Prambanam valley in the south-east stands the Kedu plain which contained some of the noblest monuments of Indo-Javanese architecture, belonging nearly to the same period as those described above. There are ruins of numerous fine temples, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, and two of them, Chaṇḍi Mendut and Chaṇḍi Pavan, which are fairly preserved, are beautiful specimens of Indo-Javanese art. But all these have been cast into shade by the famous Barabuḍur, the colossal structure which is justly looked upon as a veritable wonder by the whole world. The massive proportions and the fine quality of its immensely extensive decorations invest it with a unique character, and it has no parallel in the world save perhaps the Angkor Vat in Cambodia.

The construction of Barabuḍur may be referred to the century 750-850 A.D., and there is hardly any doubt that we owe it to the patronage of the Śailendra kings who ruled over a vast empire during that period.

The Barabuḍur is situated on the top of a hillock which commands a fine view all round across the green plains of Kedu to the distant hill-ranges that surround them. The site was admirably chosen for what was destined to be the greatest monument of Indo-Javanese art, and an immortal tribute to the genius and resources of a gfted people and the culture and refinement of the civilisation of which it was the product.

The site was, however, even more suitable than is apparent to a modern visitor. There was a rocky eminence on the top of the hillock which served admirably as the core of the huge structure. The big monument that stands before us to-day in its massive grandeur is really an outer covering of that primitive rock which lies hidden beneath it.

The noble building (Pll. II-IV) really consists of a series of nine successive terraces, each receding from the one beneath it, and the whole crowned by a bell-shaped *stūpa* at the centre of the topmost terrace. Of the nine terraces the six lower ones were square in plan, while the upper three were circular. The lowest terrace has an extreme length of 131 yds. (including projections) and the topmost one a diameter of 30 yds. The five lower terraces were each enclosed on the inner side by a wall supporting a balustrade, so that four successive galleries are formed between the back of the balustrade of one terrace and the wall of the next higher one (Pl. IV, Fig. 1). The three uppermost terraces are encircled by a ring of *stūpas*, each containing an image of Buddha within a perforated frame-work. From the ninth terrace a series of circular steps lead on to the crowning *stūpa*. The balustrade in each terrace consists of a row of arched niches separated by sculptured panels. All the niches support a superstructure which resembles the terraced roof of a temple, with bell-shaped *stūpas* in the corner and the centre, and contain the image of a Dhyānī-Buddha within. There are no less than 432 of them in the whole building.

There is a staircase with a gateway in the middle of each side of the gallery leading to the next higher one (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The doorway is crowned by a miniature temple-roof like the niches of the balustrade. The beautiful decorations of the doorways and the masterly plan in which they are set—commanding from a single point a fine view of all the doorways and staircases from the lowest to highest—introduce an unspeakable charm and invest them with a high degree of importance in relation to the whole construction.

The series of sculptured panels in the galleries form the most striking feature of Barabuḍur. On the whole there are eleven series of sculptured panels. The total number of these sculptured panels would be about fifteen hundred.

It may be safely presumed that the sculptures in the different galleries follow prescribed texts, and it is not possible to interpret them without the help of those texts. Fortunately, they have been traced in many cases, and thus the work of interpretation has been comparatively easier in these instances. They depict the life of Gautama Buddha, the Jātakas, *i.e.* previous births and Avadānas or great deeds of the Buddha, and the story of Sudhanakumāra, who made sixty-four persons his *gurus*, passed through a hundred austerities and ultimately obtained perfect knowledge and wisdom from Mañjuśrī. The other reliefs have not been satisfactorily interpreted. All of them show a high artistic skill.

The detached images of Buddha in Barabuḍur (Pl. V) and of Bodhisatvas in Mendut (Pl. VI) may be regarded as the finest products of Indo-Javanese sculpture. Fine modelling, as far as it is compatible with absence of muscular details, refined elegance of features, tasteful pose, close-fitting, smooth robe and a divine spiritual expression of face are the chief characteristics of these figures. The art must have, therefore, been ultimately derived from the classical art of the Gupta period in India.

Although no Brahmanical Temple in Java makes even a near approach to Barabuḍur, the Lara-Jongrang group in the Prambanan valley may be regarded as the next best. It consists of eight main temples, three in each row with two between them, enclosed by a wall, with three rows of minor temples round the wall on each side making a total of 156.

Of the three main temples in the western row, the central one is the biggest and the most renowned, and contains an image of Śiva (Pl. VII). The one to the north has an image of Vishṇu, and that to the south, an image of Brahmā.

The Śiva-temple in the centre is the most magnificent. Its basement, about 10 ft. high and 90 ft. long, supports a platform on which the temple stands, leaving a margin about 7 ft. wide on each side, which served as a path of circumambulation. The platform is enclosed by a balustrade decorated with reliefs on both sides.

The inner side of the balustrade consists of a continuous series of relief-sculptures in forty-two panels, depicting the story of Rāmāyaṇa from the beginning up to the expedition to Laṅkā. The story was presumably continued on the balustrade of the temple dedicated to Brahmā. These reliefs constitute the chief importance and grandeur of the Lara-Jongrang temples. They may justly be regarded as the Hindu counterpart of the Buddhist reliefs on Barabuḍur and are hardly, if at all, inferior to them.

The art of Lara-Jongrang is more naturalistic than that of Barabuḍur and is characterised by a greater feeling for movements

and human passions. It is more informed by human life and activity, though not devoid of the graceful charm of idealism. It has brought the divinity of idealism to the earth below, but with less abstraction and more animation than is the case with Barabuḍur. It is dramatic and dynamic, while the latter is passive and static. In short, Barabuḍur and Lara-Jongrang represent respectively the Classic and Romantic phases of Indo-Javanese art.

From a strictly technical point of view, the figures of these reliefs perhaps suffer in comparison with the finished products of Barabuḍur. But the artist has shown a very high degree of skill in delineating not only human figures but also apes, aquatic animals and plants (Pl. IX, Fig. 1).

The fine images of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara in Chaṇḍi Mendut (Pl. VI) are very beautifully modelled and belong to the classical style of Central Java such as we find in Barabuḍur. They show the same characteristic features with perhaps a greater degree of refinement and delicacy.

The images of Chaṇḍi Banon, though Brahmanical, belong to the school of Barabuḍur rather than that of Lara-Jongrang. There is an indescribable charm in every detail, and although the figure is shown as standing erect, its graceful posture offers a striking contrast to the somewhat stiff attitude of the Mahādeva of Lara-Jongrang.

Having described the greatest monuments of Central Java we may briefly refer to a few notable monuments in Eastern Java.

The first, of which enough remains to give us a fair idea of its architectural peculiarities, is Chaṇḍi Kidal (Pl. VIII, Fig. 1), the cremation-sanctuary of king Anūshapati. As this king died in A.D. 1248, the temple must have been built within a few years of that date.

To the north-west of Singhasāri lies the tower-temple known as Chaṇḍi Singhasāri. Two characteristic features distinguish this temple. In the first place, the projections of the basement which cover almost its entire height up to the cornice, do not correspond to any similar projections in the main body of the temple and are developed into separate chapels. These have independent profiles and look like four additional buildings added to the original structure. Secondly, the cella inside is within the basement, the western side chapel serving as its vestibule. Thus what appears from outside as the main body of the temple is really above the cella and should rather be regarded as its roof.

Chaṇḍi Jago is one of the most important monuments of the Singhasāri period. It is the burial-temple of king Vishṇuvardhana in which he was represented as a Buddhist god. As king Vishṇu-

vardhana died in 1208, the temple must have been erected some years before or after that date.

The temple (Pl. VIII, Fig. 2) stands on three platforms each of which is not only smaller than the lower, but also considerably set back behind it. This gives the temple a peculiar appearance, like a tower-temple on the back portion of a raised structure.

The greatest and most famous monument in Eastern Java is the temple complex of Panataran (old name Palah,) to the north-east of Blitar. Unlike Chaṇḍi Sevu the various structures that compose the group of Panataran were not parts of the same plan or design but grew up sporadically around what had come to be regarded as a sacred ground from early times. The building activities can be traced throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. The great temple which naturally occupies our chief attention belongs probably to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

The whole temple area, 196 yds. by 65 yds., was enclosed by a wall with its chief entrance to the west. The enclosed area was again divided into three parts by two cross walls. The main temple occupied the rearmost *i.e.* the eastern part. Three terraces, each smaller than, and having a different ground-plan from the lower, supported the main temple. The temple has, however, disappeared altogether, and the terraces alone remain. Its characteristic features were the decorated pilasters at the corners which project in front and support a miniature temple above the floor of the terrace, and the narrative reliefs on the central part representing scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa. In the second terrace, the central part is covered by continuous reliefs illustrating the Kṛishṇāyana.

The temples in Eastern Java are decidedly inferior, both in plan and execution, to those of Central Java. The first thing that strikes even a casual observer is the lack of symmetry in the general plan of the temple-complex. Unlike Central Java, the main temple does not occupy the central position with subsidiary temples arranged round it in a definite order. Here the temples are arranged pell-mell without any plan or design. Besides, the smaller temples are not replicas of the central big temple, but the different temples have different designs. The most conspicuous example of this is furnished by Chaṇḍi Panataran.

Secondly, the several parts of the same temple have proportions very different from those of Central Java. The basement is given an undue importance while the pyramidal roof dominates the whole temple.

Thirdly, there are important variations in architectural decorations, the place of the Kāla-Makara ornament, *e.g.*, being taken

mostly by the Nāgas. Besides, the ornaments are not generally suited to the architectural parts to which they are applied. They are not only exuberant and excessive, but instead of emphasising the different parts of the structure, they serve to hide them. Far from being subservient to architectural plan they seek to play an independent rôle.

The sculptured narrative reliefs (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) in different temples bear a decided stamp of their own and form the most characteristic distinguishing feature of the art of Eastern Java. The chief peculiarities of the style are the following :

(*a*) The human figures are coarsely executed. They are vulgar and ugly, and sometimes queer and distorted like the puppets of Wayang.

(*b*) There is no idea of symmetry, rythm, harmony, or perspective in the composition or grouping, the figures being arranged in a line with trees or other objects interspersed between them.

(*c*) The figures, lifeless and devoid of expression, usually look like silhouettes.

(*d*) Exuberance of decorative ornaments such as trees, scrolls, and spirals.

(*e*) The busts are always shown in their frontal aspect, even though the head or legs, or both, are turned sideways.

(*f*) The figures are carved in low relief.

These characteristics are illustrated by the well-known reliefs of Chaṇḍi Jago (Pl. XLI, Fig. 1) and Chaṇḍi Panataran.

Any one who compares the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs of Panataran (Pl. IX, Fig. 2) with those of Lara-Jongrang (Pl. IX, Fig. 1) can immediately perceive the great gulf that separates the two schools of art. The degradation of one of the best forms of art into one of the lowest is difficult to explain simply by the lapse of time. The reason must lie in the racial characteristics. In other words, the predominantly Javanese element in the East now asserts itself against the Indianised central region which lost its supreme position in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the conservative forces of religious traditions than the divine images of Eastern Java. In contrast to the degraded forms of men, and occasionally also of gods, which we meet with in the relief sculptures, the images of gods and goddesses in the round are made in old style.

The finest image in the whole series is that of Prajñāpāramitā of Singhasāri, the best specimen of Eastern Javanese sculpture (Pl. X). Her calm divine expression and serene beauty, recalling the earlier

days of Javanese art, have evoked much enthusiastic and perhaps somewhat extravagant praise.

In addition to the ordinary images of gods we have to note a series of remarkable images of gods which are designed as portraits. The Vishṇu image of Belahan (Pl. XI) is one of the finest in this series. Vishṇu has a serene majestic face, but the image is not an idealisation of divinity but realistic representation of an individual. There are good grounds to believe that the figure is that of the famous king Airlangga (11th century A.D.). The modelling of the image is good and the composition as a whole shows skill of high order. It is also probable that the image of Prajñāpāramitā, described above, is a portrait of queen Ḍeḍes. A fine Śiva image, now in the Colonial Museum at Amsterdam, is supposed to represent Anūshapati. It is perhaps the finest specimen of figure sculptures of the thirteenth century A.D., combining as it does serenity with ideal beauty.

Another fine example is furnished by the Hari-Hara image of Simping (Pl. XII) representing the features of king Kṛitarājasa.

Beautiful naturalistic figures, single or in groups, are occasionally met with in the ruins of temples. Their exact meaning and purposes are uncertain, but they show that pure aesthetic ideas were not altogether foreign to the art of Eastern Java.

In spite of the degraded character of the reliefs and images, the purely decorative sculpture of Eastern Java occasionally reaches a fairly high standard.

In spite of vital differences it may be held as more or less certain that the Eastern Javanese art is not an independent growth but a derivation from that of Central Java. It is held by many scholars that the differences are to be explained by a systematic process of degeneration and degradation. But as noted above, we have to reckon with one very important additional factor, *viz.* the Indonesian spirit proper, which was less dominated by Indian culture in Eastern than in Central Java, and in course of time strongly asserted itself.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE HINDU KINGDOM OF CHAMPĀ

THE ancient Hindu kingdom of Champā comprised the present province of Annam (excluding Tonkin and Cochin-China) with the exception of the three northern districts, Than Hoa, Nghe An and Ha Tinh. It thus extended from 18° to 10° of N. Latitude. It is a long narrow strip of territory, confined between the mountains on the west and the sea in the east, and intersected by innumerable spurs of hills.

The large number of river valleys in the country, rich in fertile lands, formed the centres of civilisation. But as these were practically unconnected by any land route, and could only communicate with one another by means of sea, it looks as though the whole kingdom consisted of a number of independent isolated settlements. That this was indeed the case to a very large extent is shown by the grouping of ancient monuments in different valleys without any connecting link between one another, and the constant tendency of the different parts of the kingdom to set up as independent states.

The country was originally inhabited by two classes of peoples. Ethnographically they both belonged to the same Austronesian race, but while one class was still in a savage condition, the other had a more advanced culture. The latter is known as Cham, a term derived from Champā, the Hindu name of the kingdom. The name by which they called themselves before the Hindu colonisation is not known. The Chams looked down upon the savages and called them by the general names of *Mlechchhas* and *Kirātas* (two well-known designations applied to barbarians in India) in addition to various local names.

As early as 214 B.C., the whole of Tonkin and a considerable part of Northern Annam were under the supremacy of the Chinese. The people who lived in Tonkin and northern Annam were undoubtedly the Annamites who, after centuries of Chinese subjugation, ultimately formed themselves into a powerful nation, as we shall see later on. The Annamites, however, did not as yet extend beyond

the "Col de Nuages" in the district of Quang Nam. To the south of it lived the indigenous savage population, but already in the first century A.D. we find the Chams firmly established in sufficiently large number as far north as Quang Nam. The Chams constantly harassed the southern frontier of the Chinese possessions. They must have been encouraged in their incursions by the tacit sympathy of the population—their own kinsmen—who were placed under the yoke of the Chinese.

The Cham incursions sometimes took a fairly serious turn. In the year 137 A.D. about 10,000 Chams attacked the southernmost Chinese districts, destroyed the forts and ravaged the whole country.

But the death-blow to the Chinese authority came from within. The Cham inhabitants of Siang-lin were particularly turbulent and now and then broke into open rebellion. In 100 A.D. nearly 2000 of them revolted and attacked the Chinese possessions in the north. They killed many officials and destroyed many villages, but retraced their steps as soon as the Chinese forces arrived. In course of time they grew bolder, and about 192 A.D. a native of Siang-lin, named Kiu Lien, killed the officer in charge of the city and proclaimed himself as king.

The city called Siang-lin by the Chinese, and Champā-nagarī, Champā-pura or simply Champā by the Chams, is now represented by Tra-kieu, a little to the south of Quang Nam. It would thus appear that the first Cham kingdom was established in Quang-Nam, and this explains the presence of two such magnificent groups of temples as Myson and Dong-Duong in the neighbourhood.

BOOK III

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HINDU DYNASTIES

1. Kings of Champā-pura

The successful raids into the Chinese territory and the establishment of a powerful kingdom testify to the growth of a new spirit in the Chams during the second century A.D. which was due to the introduction of a new element among them, *viz.* the Indian colonists.

From this time forward until the conquest of the country by the Annamites in the 15th century A.D., the Chams, as such, never played any distinctive part in the political history of the country. They submitted to their foreign masters and adopted their manners, customs, language and religion. They were politically merged in the Indian elements and there was a complete cultural fusion between the two races.

The first historical Hindu king, so far known, is Śrī Māra, who established a dynasty about the second century A.D., and is probably identical with Kiu-Lien of the Chinese history referred to above.

Nothing is known about the early Hindu kings of Champā, but the troublesome events in China, which brought about the downfall of the imperial Han dynasty in 220 A.D., must have offered them a splendid opportunity to extend and consolidate their kingdom. Some time between 220 and 230 A.D. the king of Champā sent a diplomatic mission to the Governor of Kia Che (Tonkin) on the invitation of the latter; nevertheless, in 248 A.D. the Cham army made a naval attack, ravaged even the provincial capital with several other towns, and defeated the fleet that was sent against them. At last a treaty was concluded by which the district of Kiu Su corresponding to modern Thua-Thien was ceded to Champā.

The Chinese history has preserved the names of several kings of this period. Each of these names begins with Fan which probably corresponds to 'Varman,' the epithet of every Cham king in later times. King Fan Hiong, who succeeded to the throne of Champā some time between 270 and 280 A.D., was

probably a descendant of Śrī Māra by the female line. He continued the policy of extending the Cham territory to the north at the cost of the Chinese. He allied himself with the king of Fu-nan (in Cambodia) for this purpose, and continually ravaged the Chinese possessions in Tonkin. For ten years the struggle went on, and the Chinese were reduced to great straits. At last peace was concluded in 280 A.D., probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese.

Fan-Yi, the son of Fan Hiong, succeeded him on the throne. He had a long and peaceful reign, and devoted his energies to increasing the military power and strengthening the defensive works of the kingdom. He was the first Cham king to send an embassy to the Imperial court of China (284 A.D.).

Fan-Yi died in 336 A.D. On his death the throne was usurped by his commander-in-chief Fan Wen. Wen was a capable ruler and soon made himself the undisputed master of the whole kingdom by defeating the savage tribes who founded independent states within the kingdom. In 340 he sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor with a request that Hoan Sonh mountains should be recognised as the frontier between the two states. This would have meant the cession of the fertile province of Nhut-Nam (corresponding to Thua Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh) to Champā, and naturally the Chinese emperor refused the request. But Wen decided to take by force what he could not gain by diplomacy. The people of Nhut-Nam were mutinous on account of the exactions of the Chinese governor. Taking advantage of this situation Fan Wen led an expedition in 347 A.D., and conquered Nhut-Nam. In 349 he again defeated a vast Chinese army; but he was himself wounded in the fight, and died the same year. Fan Wen thus carried his conquests to the "Porte de Annam" and the kingdom of Champā now reached its furthest limit to the north.

During the reigns of the next two kings, Wen's son Fan Fo (349-380 A.D.) and grandson Fan-Hu-ta (380-413), there was almost a continual war with the Chinese. The Chinese inflicted a severe defeat upon Fan Fo in 358 and advanced up to the very walls of the city of Champā. In 359 a treaty was concluded by which the district of Nhut-Nam was ceded to the Chinese.

Fan-Hu-ta scored some successes at first. He not only recovered Nhut-Nam but carried his arms even further to the north, as far as Than Hoa. But in 413 A.D., the Chinese governor of Kiao-Che (Hanoi) defeated Fan-Hu-ta in a pitched battle and then laid seige to Than Hoa. He occupied the top of the hills overlooking the city and barricaded the course of the river by means of hedges of trees. Exciting attacks and counter-attacks took place almost under the ramparts of the city, and the Chinese governor retreated after

killing and wounding lots of enemies, but without apparently being able to take the city.

The end of Fan-Hu-ta is not known with certainty. There is no doubt that he was a great general and increased the power and prestige of his kingdom to a very great extent after the late reverses. One of the most important works done by him was the fortification of the city of Kiu Su which occupied the site which is now covered by ruins immediately to the south-east of Hue. This king, whom the Chinese call Fan-Hu-ta, is probably the same who is referred to as Bhadravarman in the inscriptions of Champā.

Whatever we might think of this identification, Bhadravarman must be regarded as one of the most important kings in ancient Champā. His full name was Dharma-Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadravarman. He ruled over the northern and central portion of the kingdom, the provinces of Amarāvatī and Vijaya, and probably also over the southern province of Pāṇḍuraṅga. But the famous work by which he was destined to be immortal was the erection of a temple of Śiva, under the name of Bhadreśvarasvāmī, at My-son. This temple became the national sanctuary of the Chams, and the practice he thus set on foot, of calling the tutelary deity by the name of the reigning king, came to be almost universally adopted in later times. King Bhadravarman seems to have been a scholar, and it is expressly laid down in an inscription that he was versed in the four Vedas.

According to the Chinese accounts, Fan-Hu-ta was succeeded in 413 by his son Ti-Chen. We are told that Ti-Kai, the brother of this king, fled with his mother, and the king could not induce them to come back. Grieved at heart, he abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew and himself went to India. The departure of the king was followed by anarchy and civil war in Champā. It led to murders and rapid successions to the throne till the dynasty was dispossessed of the kingdom of Champā after a reign of about 80 years (336-420 A.D.). Ti-Chen is probably the same as king Gaṅgārāja who is mentioned in an inscription as having abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the Ganges.

The civil war was brought to an end by the accession of Fan Yang Mai (420 A.D.) whose origin is unknown. The Chams carried on their usual raids into the Chinese territory, attended by pillage, massacre and horrible cruelties, and in the year 420 the Chinese inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Chams. Yang Mai died within a few years, and was succeeded by his son who assumed the name of his father. The usual frontier raids against the Chinese territory continued, and in 431 Yang Mai II sent more than 100 vessels to pillage the coast of Nhut-Nam. This provoked the

Chinese governor who sent a strong expedition both by land and sea against Champā. Yang Mai II had gone to marry. He hurried back by way of sea and fell in with the Chinese fleet. His chief pilot was struck down by an arrow and his fleet dispersed, pursued by the Chinese. The Chinese fleet, however, could not follow up their victory on account of bad weather, and retreated. Consequently their army had also to raise the seige and fall back (431 A.D.).

Yang Mai II was, however, elated with the result of the battle, and his ambition knew no bounds. Hardly a year passed without an invasion of Tonkin by his troops. All the while, however, he continued to pay his tributes regularly to the Chinese emperor. The Chinese emperor now decided to bring his turbulent vassal to sense by another military expedition. The preparations took three years, and in 446 A.D. the Chinese army under T'an Ho-Che invaded Champā. The Chinese general at once advanced and laid seige to Kiu-Su, the principal stronghold of Champā. Yang Mai II sent an army in aid of Fan Fu Long who defended the place, but although the Chams scored some successes at first, the Chinese ultimately captured the stronghold. The general Fan Fu Long was beheaded and all the inhabitants above the age of 15 were put to the sword. The palace halls were inundated with blood and heaps of dead bodies covered the yard. An immense booty of gold, silver and various other precious objects was gained by the victors.

The Chinese continued their advance and were at last met by Yang Mai himself at the head of an immense host. Yang Mai placed a large number of elephants in front of his army. This terrified the Chinese soldiers. But the ingenuity of a Chinese general saved the situation. He prepared numerous figures of lions by means of bamboos and papers, and these were thrown before the elephants. The latter took fright and fled, and in so doing threw into confusion and disorder the very army they were intended to protect. Yang Mai suffered a most terrible defeat and fled from the battlefield with his son. The victorious Chinese general T'an Ho-Che then entered the capital Champāpura in triumph and obtained a rich booty of very precious objects. The whole country was occupied, all the temples were sacked, and their statues were melted for the metals contained in them. About 100,000 pounds of pure gold were obtained from this source. The Chinese victory was complete.

After the retreat of the Chinese army Yang Mai came back to his capital. But the city was in ruins and Yang Mai II died in a broken heart in 446 A.D.

Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson. The latter, named Fan Chen-Ch'eng, pursued a policy of peace and sent

tributes to the Chinese emperor on at least three different occasions, in 455,458 and 472 A.D. The tributes were very rich and the emperor was pleased to confer high honours and titles on the ambassador.

The death of Fan Chen-Ch'eng was followed by a troublesome period. Taking advantage of this a man called Fan Tang-Ken-Chuen or Kieu Ch'eu Lo usurped the kingdom. He was the son of Jayavarman, king of Fu-nan. He had committed some crime in his country, and, fleeing from the wrath of his royal father, took refuge in Champā. But the usurper was defeated and dethroned by Fan Chu-Nong, great-grandson of Fan Yang Mai II. The reigns of Fan Chu-Nong, and his three successors, are without any importance. The last king Vijayavarman sent two embassies to China in 526 and 527 A.D. Vijayavarman was succeeded by Śrī Rudravarman who claims descent from king Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne and retired to the banks of the Ganges. He belonged to the Brahma-Kshatriya family and sought for his investiture from the Chinese Emperor in 529 by payment of tribute. He renewed the tribute again in 534 A.D.

Rudravarman was succeeded by his son Praśastadharma who took the name of Śambhuvarman at the time of his coronation. Śambhuvarman took advantage of the weakness of the Imperial Ch'en dynasty to stop the customary tribute, but renewed it in 595 A.D. after the Sui dynasty was established on the Imperial throne. But this did not save him from a Chinese invasion. The Chinese general Liu Fang advanced both by land and sea, and reached the estuary of Linh Giang in 605. Śambhuvarman stationed his soldiers to guard the passes which separate the valley of Linh Giang from that of the Do Le (Tou Li). Liu Fang defeated them and pitched his camp on the Do Le. He then crossed the river without difficulty and overtook the enemy a few miles to the south. A sanguinary battle ensued. The elephants on which the Chams mainly relied were dispersed by the Chinese archers, and they trampled under foot the very army they were engaged to protect. Śambhuvarman fled from the battle-field; the Chinese took about 10,000 prisoners and cut off their left ears. Liu Fang pursued his victory and occupied K'iu Su. Near about this place he inflicted several more defeats upon Śambhuvarman and reached the capital of Champā (605 A.D.). Śambhuvarman fled by sea. Liu Fang thereupon sacked the capital city, and put into captivity all the inhabitants he could lay hands on. He further took the golden tablets of eighteen kings who had ruled over Champā before Śambhuvarman, and 1350 Buddhist works. Among his captives were included some musicians from Fu-nan who carried to the Imperial court the musical arts of India.

As soon as the invaders had left, Śambhuvarman came back to his capital, and to avoid further difficulties, sent an ambassador to the Imperial Court for asking pardon. Śambhuvarman was succeeded in 629 A.D. by his son Kandarpadharma (Fan T'eu Li of the Chinese). The king had a peaceful reign. He kept peace with China by regular payment of tribute. Kandarpadharma's son and successor Prabhāsadharma, Fan Chen-Long of the Chinese history, had a tragic end.

The disastrous defeat inflicted by the Chinese upon Śambhuvarman must have considerably weakened the authority of the government. As usually happens, the national calamity served as an opportunity to adventurers, and in this particular instance the female line seems to have coveted the throne as against the male line. During the long reign of Śambhuvarman the interests of two such female lines were cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Kandarpadharma with Satyakauśika-svāmī the grandson (daughter's son) of Rudravarman. It is probable that an attempt was already made by this party after the death of Kandarpadharma to secure the throne, but it proved unsuccessful and its authors had to fly to the court of Kambuja. But a few years later the attempt was renewed, and Prabhāsadharma was killed with all the male members of the family (645 A.D.). Satyakauśika-svāmī at first occupied the throne, but was driven away by the nobles, and his wife alone ruled the state. But a female ruler was hardly likely to cope with the difficulties of the time, and Satyakauśika-svāmī returned to Champā. It is extremely likely that the king of Kambuja was really pulling the wire from behind in all the successive events. The new party had all along been intimately associated with that court, for the father of Satyakauśika-svāmī had taken refuge in Kambuja after committing some fault in Champā, and Jagaddharma, the grandson of Satyakauśika-svāmī, was married to Śarvāṇī, daughter of the Kambuja king Īśānavarman.

Satyakauśika-svāmī ruled for at least eight years from 645 to 653 A.D. with an interval. Whether his son and grandson ruled after him cannot be finally decided, but if they did, they must have very short reigns. For by 657 A.D. Prakāśadharma, the son of Jagaddharma and Śarvvāṇī, had already ascended the throne under the title of Vikrāntavarman. We have no precise knowledge about the successor of Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman I. We may, however, provisionally accept the following line of succession.

Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman I
|
Naravāhanavarman
|
Vikrāntavarman II.

The last known date of Prakāśadharma is 687 A.D. and the earliest known date of Vikrāntavarman II is 713 A.D. Naravāhanavarman's reign therefore falls between these two dates.

Vikrāntavarman II was probably succeeded by Rudravarman II who sent tributes to China in 749 A.D. We do not know anything more about him. He died about 757 A.D. and with him probably ended the dynasty which was founded by Rudravarman I about the year 529 A.D.

The inscriptions of this dynasty are mostly found in the neighbourhood of Myson, but their power extended very nearly over the whole of the kingdom. The province of Quang Nam in which Myson is situated was the chief stronghold of the dynasty from beginning to end.

2. THE DYNASTY OF PĀṆḌURAṄGA

After Rudravarman II the kingdom of Champā passed on to a new dynasty which originally belonged to the Kauṭhāra region in the south but exercised suzerainty over the entire kingdom. The founder of this dynasty is named Pṛithivīndravarman. He enjoyed a long reign and died some time before 774 A.D. His successor king Satyavarman was his nephew (sister's son).

The chief event in the reign of the new king is the raid of the Javanese sea-men who devastated the land, and in particular destroyed a temple containing a Mukhaliṅga. There was a halo of sanctity around the temple, as popular tradition ascribed its foundation to a king Vichitrasagara in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga. In the year 774 A.D. the Javanese, " vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships," burnt this temple and carried away the image together with all the properties of the temple. King Satyavarman pursued these marauders in his own ships and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. But the object of the pursuit was not fully realised, and king Satyavarman was very much dejected to learn that the Śivamukha, together with its property which was in the enemy ships, was thrown into water, and that the Śivaliṅga was destroyed. The victorious king, unable to recover the old image, installed a new Śivamukhaliṅga, together with images of other deities, in the year 784 A.D. and gave rich endowments to the god. For this reason he came to be regarded as the second Vichitrasagra or an incarnation of that king.

Satyavarman was succeeded by his younger brother Indravarman. He is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champā. The chief event in his reign, like that of his

predecessor, was a raid of Javanese sea-men. In the year 787 A.D. they burnt the temple of Bhadrādhipatīśvara, a celebrated deity of the kingdom, who was regarded as having been established there for many thousands of years. King Indravarman re-installed the deity under the name of Indrabhadreśvara, and endowed it with various treasures in the year 799 A.D. In addition to this, king Indravarman endowed many other pious establishments. He at first installed Indrabhogeśvara at Vīrapura. He then installed in the excellent house of Satyavarman (*i.e.* in a temple erected by that king) the god Indraparameśvara, and endowed him with various riches in 801 A.D. Lastly, Indravarman made a rich donation of all kinds of treasures to the god Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Śiva and Hari united in one body).

Indravarman was succeeded by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Harivarman. His full name was Vīra Jaya Śrī Harivarmadeva and he assumed the proud title of 'Rājādhirāja Śrī-Champāpura-Parameśvara' (king of kings, Lord of Champā). In January, 803, he conquered the two Chinese districts of Hoan and Ai, and renewed the expedition again in 809 A.D. But the Chinese governor forced him to retreat after inflicting a crushing defeat upon him, and wreaked his vengeance upon the people of the two districts who helped the king of Champā.

Harivarman entrusted his son Vikrāntavarman with the government of Pāṇḍuraṅga district (modern Phanrang), but as he was too young for the responsible post, he was placed in charge of a general named Par. This general led an expedition against Kambuja on behalf of his young master, and ravaged the towns of the Kambujas.

Harivarman, who ruled from *c.* 800 to *c.* 820 A.D., was succeeded by his son Vikrāntavarman III, who was the nephew (sister's son) of the two kings Satyavarman and Indravarman. Vikrāntavarman III died without issue and with him ended the dynasty founded by Pṛithivīndravarman which held sway for about a century from the middle of the eighth to the middle of ninth century A.D. The dynasty had its stronghold in the south, and it has been styled the dynasty of Pāṇḍuraṅga, but Champā was still the official capital.

3. THE BHṚIGU DYNASTY

The new dynasty that supplanted the old seems to have been founded by Indravarman II, though this is not quite certain. The Dong Duong Inscription issued by this king in 875 A.D. gives the following account of the family.

"From the son (or family) of Parameśvara was born Uroja, the king of the world. From him was born the fortunate and intelligent Dharmarāja. From him

was born the intelligent King Śrī Rudravarman, The son of the latter was the far-famed king Śrī Bhadravarman. The son of Śrī Bhadravarman, known as Śrī Indravarman, has become the king of Champā through the grace of Maheśvara."

Thus a divine origin is attributed to the family, which is elsewhere referred to as the 'Bhṛigu family,' evidently because of the mythology contained in the above inscription according to which Bhṛigu was sent to Champā by Mahādeva himself.

The king was originally called "Śrī Lakshmīndra Bhumīśvara Grāmasvāmin, and on gaining the sovereignty of Champā, he assumed the title Śrī Jaya Indravarmā Mahārājādhirāja. The Dong Duong Inscription praises him in extravagant terms, and commemorates the erection of a monastery and a temple for Svabhayada *i.e.* Buddha. This is very interesting, for it shows that the king had leanings towards Buddhism. But he had, of course, the traditional faith in Śaivism. For the inscription not only refers to a Śivaliṅga installed by him, but also contains a long invocation of the god Śambhubhadreśvara.

Indravarman II must have enjoyed a fairly long and peaceful reign between 854 A.D., the date of Vikrāntavarman III., and 898 A.D., the earliest date of his successor. He seems to have been succeeded by Jaya Siṁhavarman but the relationship between the two is not definitely known.

We possess five inscriptions belonging to the reign of Jaya Siṁhavarman, but they merely give a list of his pious donations and do not contain any reference to political events. Only we hear a great deal of the wealth and splendour of Indrapura which seems to have been the real capital of this dynasty, although the city of Champā is still officially recognised as such.

King Jaya Siṁhavarman sent an embassy to Java, and this diplomatic relation was continued by his successors. He was succeeded by his eldest son Śrī Jayaśaktivarman who probably reigned for only a short time.

The next king was Bhadravarman whose relationship to his predecessor is not known. The way in which he is introduced in the Nhan Bieu inscription seems to indicate that he did not occupy the throne by any unfair means. For instance, Rājadvārah, the son of the cousin of Jaya Siṁhavarman's queen, continued to occupy a high position under Bhadravarman, as he did under his two predecessors, and was again sent on a diplomatic errand to Java. This, of course, proves nothing, but gives rise to a fair presumption that there was no violent disturbance in the internal policy of the kingdom.

The inscriptions of Bhadravarman mention his victories over enemies and refer to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming from

different countries. One of his ministers is said to have understood thoroughtly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries, and he sent a diplomatic mission to Java. These isolated statements, occurring in different contexts, leave no doubt that the kingdom of Champā was now recognised abroad as an important and powerful kingdom and took part in international politics. The first stage of this new departure we have already noticed in the reign of Jaya Siṁhavarman.

Bhadravarman III must have a very short reign and he died in 910 or 911 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Indravarman III. He is said to have mastered the six systems of Brahmanical Philosophy as well as the Buddhist Philosophy, the Grammar of Pāṇini together with its commentary Kāśikā, and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites. In spite of obvious exaggerations, the king must be taken to have been a remarkable scholar in his day.

But while the king was busy with the study of Philosophy and Grammar, the kingdom was invaded by the Kambujas some time between 944 and 947 A.D. Indravarman ultimately hurled back the hostile forces, but his straitened circumstances are indicated by the fact that the golden image of Bhagavatī which was carried away by the invading troops could only be replaced by a stone figure. Indravarman III enjoyed a long reign of sixty years. He ascended the throne about 911 A.D. and died in 971 or 972 A.D.

BOOK III

CHAPTER III

The Annamite Invasions

For nearly a century after the death of Indravarman III, the history of Champā is obscure in the extreme. The outstanding event of this period is a series of Annamite invasions, leading to internal disintegration of the kingdom.

Indravarman III seems to have been succeeded by king Parameśvaravarman. He was soon involved in a quarrel with the Annamites which brought ruin upon himself and his kingdom. It has already been related above that Tonkin and northern Annam had passed into the hands of China in 111 B.C. But the tyranny of the Chinese, both officials and colonists, told heavily upon the people. In 36 A.D. they broke into revolt but a Chinese army easily overran the country.

The Annamites again revolted in 183 A.D., but were subjugated in 226 A.D. In 541 Ly Bon or Ly Bi, an Annamite of Chinese origin, revolted against the Chinese governor and declared himself king. He and his two successors ruled for 62 years, but the Chinese reconquered the province in 603 A.D. Ly Bon ruled over the whole of Tonkin and in the south his kingdom reached the frontier of Champā. His fight with Rudravarman has already been referred to above. From 603 to 930 A.D. the Chinese remained the undisputed master of Tonkin. In 722 an Annamite chief, Mai Thuc Loan, made alliance with the king of Champā and revolted against the Chinese governor. But the revolt was easily supressed by the Chinese generals.

At last, unable to bear the miseries of Chinese yoke, the Annamites again broke into revolt early in the 10th century A.D. The moment was very opportune. The downfall of the Imperial T'ang dynasty in 907 A.D. was followed by a period of anarchy and disintegration in China, lasting for more than half a century. The Annamites took full advantage of this situation and freed themselves from the iron yoke of the Chinese. Henceforth Annam became an independent country, nominally acknowledging suzerainty of China

at times, but quite free from Chinese control for all practical purposes. A new power thus came into existence which was ultimately destined to play an important part in the history of south-eastern Asia.

The first independent royal Annamite dynasty was founded by Ngo Quyen in 939 A.D. But the supreme power did not remain with a single chief for a long time. By 965 A.D. twelve important chiefs had partitioned the country among themselves. In 968 A.D. Dinh Bo Linh defeated the twelve chiefs and proclaimed himself emperor. He ruled for 12 years but was murdered in 979 A.D. Ngo Nhut Khanh, one of the twelve chiefs defeated by the emperor, had taken refuge in the court of Champā. As soon as the news of the emperor's death reached him he planned to seize the throne and asked for the aid of Parameśvaravarman.

The latter readily consented and led a naval expedition against Tonkin in person. The Cham fleet made good progress and reached within a few miles of the capital. At night, however, a storm broke out and destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of the royal vessel which safely returned to Champā. A large number, including Nhut Khanh, was drowned, and the rest fell into the hands of the Annamites (979 A.D.).

Shortly after, Le Hoan was elected by the Annamite chiefs as their emperor (980 A.D.). He successfully opposed a Chinese expedition sent by the Emperor Kuang Yi to reconquer the province. He sent an ambassador to Parameśvaravarman, but the latter imprisoned him against diplomatic convention of all ages and countries. Le Hoan was naturally furious and led an expedition in person against Champā. Parameśvaravarman was defeated and killed at the first encounter, and the Annamite king marched towards the capital. Although a new king was hastily set up he could not save the capital city which fell into the hands of the Annamites. After pillaging the city and burning its temples, Le Hoan made arrangements for governing the province and returned with an immense booty (982 A.D.). Among others, he took with him 100 ladies of the royal harem and an Indian Bhikshu.

The new king Indravarman IV took refuge in his southern territories and sent a Brāhmaṇa envoy to the Chinese court complaining against the Annamite occupation of Champā. But the emperor was not in a mood to renew the fight with the Annamites, and advised the king of Champā to protect his own kingdom and live on friendly terms with his neighbours.

In the meantime the Annamite chiefs were quarrelling among themselves. The history of the internal quarrels and dissensions is but imperfectly known to us, but they ultimately led to the usurpation of the throne of Champā by Lu'u-Ky-Tong, an Annamite

chief, who revolted against Le Hoan. Le Hoan advanced with an army to punish him, but the difficulties of the routes, added to the inclemency of the weather, forced him to retreat (983 A.D.).

Lu'u-Ky-Tong was now quite secure in his dominion in northern Champā. His power was on the increase, and after the death of Indravarman IV he was officially proclaimed king of Champā. The foreign domination, however, pressed hard on the people, and they began to emigrate to the Chinese territories in large numbers. Fortunately, a national hero appeared about this time at Vijaya; Lu'u-Ky-Tong disappeared and the former was crowned king under the name of Vijaya Śrī Harivarman (II) in 989 A.D. The capital was fixed at Vijaya (Binh-Dinh).

Shortly after his accession Harivarman II found his territories again ravaged by Le Hoan. He sent an embassy with rich presents to the Imperial Court of China complaining about the conduct of Le Hoan, and the emperor commanded Le Hoan to keep within his own territory. Harivarman II also wanted to conciliate the Annamite king and refused assistance to an Annamite Chief who had rebelled against Le Hoan. The latter, touched by this signal mark of friendship, and probably also intimidated by the order of the Chinese emperor, not only stopped his incursions but also released a number of Cham prisoners (992 A.D.). During the same year the Chinese emperor sent a rich present to Harivarman II, who was glad beyond measure at such an unexpected honour, and sent in return an envoy with a rich tribute.

Outwardly Harivarman was on equally good terms with Le Hoan, the Annamite king, and sent diplomatic missions to him. Nevertheless the Cham soldiers ravaged the Annamite territory to the north. Once Le Hoan rebuked the Cham envoy and refused to accept the tribute brought by him. Harivarman hastened to pacify him and sent his own grandson as hostage to his court (995 A.D.). But the Chams continued to raid the Annamite territory. In 997 a Cham army marched up to the borders of Tonkin but returned without invading it.

Harivarman II was succeeded by Vijaya Śrī. He ascended the throne sometime before 999 A.D. when he sent an envoy to China. King Harivarman II, although proclaimed king at Vijaya, had re-established the Court at the ancient capital Indrapura. But that city was sacked by Le Hoan and had suffered all the horrors of foreign domination. Vijaya Śrī definitely abandoned it, and, in order to avoid the domination of the Annamites, retired to Vijaya which henceforth became the capital of Champā and remained as such till the end.

Vijaya Śrī was succeeded by Harivarmadeva III. He sent three embassies to China in 1010, 1011 and 1015, and one to Tonkin in 1011. With his envoy to China in 1011 he sent a few lions which were objects of great curiosity to the Imperial Court. His successor Parameśvaravarman II sent tribute to China in 1018 A.D. Early in the year 1021 the Annamites all on a sudden attacked the camp of Bo Chanh which protected the northern frontier of Champā. The Cham general opposed them, but was killed, and his army retreated in disorder. The invading army, however, also suffered great loss and did not dare to advance any further.

The next king Śrī Vikrāntavarman IV was on the throne in 1030 A.D. when he sent an embassy to China with tribute. His reign seems to be full of civil wars and revolutions. For twice, in 1038 and 1939 A.D., his son sought protection at the court of Tonkin, and a few months later, the entire garrison of the camp of Bo Chanh sought refuge with the Annamite Emperor. Vikrāntavarman died in 1041 A.D., and the year following, his son Jaya Siṁhavarman II asked for investiture from the Chinese court.

Jaya Siṁhavarman's indiscretion brought another terrible calamity upon the unfortunate kingdom of Champā. In 1043 his navy harassed the Annamite coast but was forced to retreat in the face of a large force sent against them. The Annamite Emperor Phat Ma now decided on an expedition on a large scale to chastise his turbulent neighbours, who had besides ceased to perform any act of vassalage for the last sixteen years. He constructed 100 new vessels and drilled his soldiers for both offensive and defensive war. At length, on the 12th January 1044, he led the expedition in person against Champā. The flotilla safely reached the bank of the river Ngu Bo where Jaya Siṁhavarman was waiting with his troops. The Annamites disembarked and offered battle. The Cham army was completely routed. Jaya Siṁhavarman himself lay dead with 30,000 of his soldiers. Moved by pity Phat Ma at last stopped his fearful carnage and marched towards the capital city Vijaya. Vijaya was easily captured and ravaged by his army. At last the Annamite Emperor turned back with an immense booty and large number of prisoners, including all the women of the palace. It is recorded about one of these, that when summoned to the royal vessel she threw herself into the sea, preferring death to dishonour in the hands of her foreign foe. The emperor admired her fidelity and gave her a posthumous title meaning 'very chaste and very sweet lady.'

The dynasty which came to power in 989 A.D. after the Annamite usurpation perished with Jaya Siṁhavarman II amid the disasters of the second Annamite invasion. But within six years a

new dynasty was founded by Jaya Parameśvaravarmadeva Īśvaramūrti, descended from the old royal family of Champā.

The new king had to face a heavy task. For nearly seventy years (980-1050 A.D.) the kingdom was a prey to foreign invasions and internal dissensions. The repeated incursions of the Annamites had brought untold miseries upon the kingdom and exhausted its resources. As the central authority became weak, provincial revolts began. The southern province of Pāṇḍuraṅga, for example, repeatedly rebelled and set up a new king on the throne. The Kambujas also probably took advantage of the weakness of their neighbour to push on their plundering raids into the kingdom.

It reflects great credit on Jaya Parameśvaravarman that he bravely faced the dangers and restored peace and order in the kingdom to a considerable extent. He first turned his attention towards the province of Pāṇḍuraṅga which was almost in a chronic state of rebellion. Three armies were sent against it, one led by the king in person and the two other by two of his nephews, the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and Devarāja Mahāsenāpati. The revolted people of Pāṇḍuraṅga were completely defeated and came to terms (1050 A.D.). Half of the people were released in order to re-establish the city, and the other half were distributed as slaves to various religious establishments. Two columns of victory were raised to commemorate the victory, one by the king himself and the other by the Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, and two *liṅgas* of stone were installed by the two generals. These were intended to impress the people with an idea of the wealth, splendour and piety of the king of Champā, and they produced the desired effect.

Having brought the affairs of Pāṇḍuraṅga to a satisfactory conclusion, the king turned his attention towards his western neighbour, the Kambujas. Here also his efforts proved completely successful. The Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, who had played such a distinguished part in the Pāṇḍuraṅga war, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Kambujas and took the town of Śambhupura. He destroyed a large number of temples there and distributed the Khmer captives among the temples of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

King Parameśvaravarman had to devote a great deal of attention to the restoration of the religious institutions which had suffered during the troublesome period that preceded his reign. In 1050 A.D. he reinstalled the image of the famous goddess of Po Nagara and endowed her with lands, slaves and various other costly articles.

The next king that we definitely know of is Rudravarman IV. He was born in the family of Jaya Parameśvara, but the relationship between the two is not definitely known. From the very beginning

he made preparations for attacking his northern neighbour. He organised his army and trained his soldiers for the purpose. He then sent an ambassador to China, in 1062 A.D., for securing assistance against the Annamites. But although the Chinese emperor was friendly and sent him some presents, he was not in a mood to send any effective aid against the Annamites. For some years, therefore, Rudravarman IV thought it politic to keep on friendly terms with the Annamite Emperor and regularly sent tributes to him in 1063, 1065 and 1068.

But all the while Rudravarman IV had been continuing his preparations, and at last opened hostilities towards the end of 1068 A.D. The Annamite Emperor, Ly Thanh Ton, took up the challenge and moved his troops on the 16th February, 1069 A.D. He gradually arrived at the port of Śrī Banoy and there disembarked his troops. The Cham Army, drawn up on the bank of the Tu Mao, offered battle to the invader. They fought furiously for a long time, but their general being killed they lost heart and fell back in disorder, leaving a large number on the field. As soon as Rudravarman learnt the news of the defeat, he left the capital with his family. He was, however, pursued and captured within the borders of Kambuja (1069 A.D.).

The victor now took up his residence in the royal palace at Vijaya and celebrated his triumph by feasts and dances. He then gave orders to put to fire all the houses in the capital and its suburbs. This done, he gave orders for retreat. On the 17th July he made a triumphal entry into his capital. Escorted by the two armies, and surrounded by his officers on horseback, he himself rode on a chariot behind which marched Rudravarman and his family accompanied by five executioners. About 50,000 Chams were taken to Tonkin as prisoners of war.

Rudravarman was not kept in captivity for long. He obtained his release by ceding the three northern districts of Champā *viz.* Dia Ly, Ma Linh and Bo Chanh. (1069 A.D.). This meant the cession of the whole of Quang Binh and the northern part of Quang Tri, and brought the frontier of Champā to the mouth of the river Viet. The Chams could never reconcile themselves to this cession of important territories and it gave rise to many a battle in future.

On his return to Champā Rudravarman IV found it to be a seat of anarchy and civil war, as several persons had proclaimed themselves kings in different parts of the kingdom. Amind these disorders Rudravarman IV passes from our view.

BOOK III

CHAPTER IV

The Dynasty of Harivarman

Among the many claimants to the throne of Champā one name stands in bold relief, that of Harivarman IV. The full name of the king was Śrī Harivarmadeva prince Than-Yan Vishṇumūrti or Mādhavamūrti or Devatāmūrti. He was the son of Prāleyeśvara Dharmarāja of the Cocoanut clan. As his mother belonged to the Betelnut clan he represented in his person the two chief rival families of the kingdom.

Within ten years of the capture of Rudravarman, Harivarman established his authority over the greater part of the kingdom. But the civil war continued throughout his reign, and he had to fight with rival chiefs for the throne of Champā. To make matters worse, the Annamite king sent a new expedition in 1075, and the Kambuja king also began his plundering raids. It reflects great credit upon Harivarman that he not only checked his internal foes but also guarded his kingdom against his powerful neighbours. No wonder, that his reign was full of military campaigns, as we are told in the Myson Inscription :

> "He has dispersed the hostile troops in the field of battle as many as twelve times. He has cut off the heads of kings, generals, chiefs and other men in the field of battle nine times. He defeated the troops of Kambuja at Someśvara and captured the prince Śrī Nandavarmadeva who commanded the army."

The defeat of the Annamite forces assured the safety of the newly established power, and by dint of numerous military successes "the king of Champā became prosperous as of old." Then king Harivarman celebrated his coronation and probably assumed the title Utkrishṭarāja. After this he 'enjoyed a complete happiness and tasted royal felicities.'

But Harivarman had another important task before him. The country had been ruined by the Annamite invasions and the civil war and it was necessary to repair the damages as far as possible.

Two inscriptions at Myson describe in detail the work of restoration as well as the rich endowments to the temple of

Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara made by the king and his brother Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati.

King Harivarman also turned his attention to secular buildings and "re-established the edifices and the city of Champā during the troublesome days of the war. And the city of Champā and all the edifices were enriched, as if by nature, and freshly decorated."

King Harivarman thus successfully accomplished the two important tasks of establishing law and order and restoring material prosperity in the kingdom. With the exception of the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga, the whole of Champā was probably united under his sceptre, and he vigorously set himself to the task of repairing damages and reviving the old prosperity of the kingdom.

In 1081 A.D., at the age of forty-one, Harivarman IV abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Śrī Rājadvāra, and devoted himself to spiritual exercises and worship of Śiva. He did not, however, long enjoy the rest and died within a month (1081 A.D.). It is interesting to note that fourteen of his wives followed him to death in right Indian fashion.

Rājadvāra ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva. He was a boy of nine years and was obviously unfit to hold the reins of Government in those troublesome days. He had hardly reigned for a month when the necessity of a stronger government impressed itself upon all, and the throne was offered to Pu-lyan Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, younger brother of Śrī Harivarmadeva. The event is thus described in the Myson Inscription of Jaya Indravarman himself.

> "His Majesty Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva reigned about a month. Then as Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva was very young, did not know what was good or bad in the government of the kingdom, and made everything contrary to the rules of government, Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva with all the generals, Brāhmaṇas, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies and the wives of Śrī Harivarmadeva searched for a prince to govern the kingdom. Now they found that Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati prince Pāñ, uncle of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, and younger brother of Śrī Harivarmadeva, had all the marks of a Mahārāja according to the canon of Rājachakravartin, and that he had the knowledge of the good and the bad,...... Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva, nephew of Pu-lyan Śrī Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati, with the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, paṇḍits, astrologers, masters of the ceremonies, and all the ladies, carrying royal insignia, went to Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati and made him king."

The Yuvarāja ascended the throne under the title Paramabodhisattva in 1081 A.D. "He gave bounties to the generals and to all the people of Champā, and uninterrupted bliss reigned as before."

Paramabodhisattva quelled the disturbances in the kingdom and completed the task of his elder brother by recovering the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. There a usurper had set up an independent kingdom after the Annamite expedition of 1069 A.D. and maintained

his position for 16 years. Paramabodhisattva imprisoned him with all his followers. He spared their lives but confiscated their property.

Thus after 16 years there was once more a united kingdom of Champā. Paramabodhisattva did not enjoy a long reign. He was succeeded in 1086 by his nephews Śrī Indravarmadeva Paramarājādhirāja who had abdicated the throne in his favour in 1081 A.D.

Although Jaya Indravarman V paid his tribute to the court of Annam with fair regularity, he deplored the loss of the three districts ceded by Rudravarman. The two peoples were so much estranged over this question, that when their ambassadors, having arrived at the Chinese court at the same time, were introduced to the Emperor on the same day, they kept themselves aloof from each other. At a dinner in which they were invited they were seated at two ends of the table.

At last in 1103 a refugee from Annam instigated king Indravarman to fight against his country. He represented that Annam was enfeebled by internal dissensions and had not the power to resist an invasion from Champā. Misled by these false statements Jaya Indravarman led an army and conquered the three ceded districts. But his triumph was short-lived. He was soon defeated and compelled to abandon those districts. To avoid further troubles he immediately sent tribute to Annam. Henceforth the two countries lived in peace and tributes were regularly sent from Champā to Annam.

Jaya Indravarman V was succeeded by his nephew Harivarman who reigned in peace from 1114 to 1124 A.D.

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE WITH KAMBUJA AND CHINA

HARIVARMAN V seems to have left no heir, and the next king known to us is Jaya Indravarman VI. Jaya Indravarman VI was born in the year 1106 A.D. He became Devarāja in 1129 and Yuvarāja in 1133 A.D. Finally he ascended the throne in 1139. This short account of his life shows that his father had also reigned before him, whoever he may be.

Unfortunately Jaya Indravarman VI was involved in a quarrel with both his powerful neighbours. Sūryavarman, the bellicose king of Kambuja, ascended the throne in 1112 A.D., and began to harass the kingdom of Champā. Then in 1128 he sent an expedition, 20,000 strong against the Annamite kingdom, and induced the king of Champā to join with him. This was probably not a difficult task, as Champā had many old scores to pay off, and was ever ready to seize any opportunity to recover the three northern districts ceded by Rudravarman. Unfortunately, the Cham army could not join the Kambujas in time, and both armies were separately defeated. Baffled in his enterprise Sūryavarman despatched next year a navy of 700 vessels to harass the coast of Than Hoa. A similar attempt was again made in 1132 when Jaya Indravarman invaded Nghe-An in concert with the army of Kambuja, but was easily defeated by the Annamites. He then settled matters with them by paying tribute to Annam and withdrawing from the offensive alliance he had lately formed with the king of Kambuja.

But this pusillanimous conduct did not save the unfortunate king. Unsuccessful in his expedition against the Annamite king, Sūryavarman now wanted to make amends for his loss by attacking his faithless ally, the king of Champā. In 1145 he invaded the kingdom and made himself master of Vijaya. Jaya Indravarman VI was either killed in the battle, or made a prisoner. In any case we do not hear of him any more.

When the kingdom of Champā lay prostrate under the victorious army of Kambuja, a scion of the old ruling family, a descendant of

king Paramabodhisattva, proclaimed himself king and took refuge in the southern district of Pāṇḍuraṅga. His name was Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka. He was formally consecrated to the throne, but did not enjoy a long reign and died in 1147 A.D.

On the death of the king the people of Pāṇḍuraṅga invited his son Ratna-Bhūmivijaya to be the king of Champā, and he ascended the throne in 1147 A.D. under the name of Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva VI, prince Śivānandana. Harivarman VI ascended the throne at a very critical moment. The greater part of the kingdom was under a foreign foe who was now extending his aggressions to the south, and the Annamites as well as the Kirātas and other semi-barbarous tribes on the frontier took advantage of the situation to carry on plundering raids into its very heart. But Harivarman was equal to the task that faced him, and steered the vessel of state safely through these shoals, amid heavy storms, back to the harbour.

Scarcely had the king ascended the throne when the king of Kambuja commanded Śaṅkara, the foremost among his generals, to go and fight him in the plain of Rājapura. Śaṅkara was aided by a large number of troops from Vijaya *i.e.* the portion of Champā subject to Kambuja. Harivarman met the hostile army at Chaklyan and gained a great victory. This happened in 1147 A.D. Next year "the king of Kambuja sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one to fight in the plain of Vīrapura." Harivarman met them at the field of Kayev and completely defeated them.

Having defeated the two armies sent against him, Harivarman now felt powerful enough to take the offensive. The king of Kambuja did not underrate the danger. He hastily consecrated Harideva, the younger brother of his first queen, as king of Vijaya, and "commanded various generals to lead the Kambuja troops and protect the prince Harideva until he became king in the city of Vijaya." Jaya Harivarman also marched toward that city and "destroyed king Harideva with all his Cham and Kambuja generals and troops." Then the victorious king, duly consecrated, ascended the throne of his forefathers with due pomp and ceremony (1149 A.D.) and reigned as supreme king from this time. But the difficulties of Harivarman were far from being over yet. The king of Kambuja, thrice baffled, now hit upon a different plan. He incited the barbarous mountain tribes of Champā against their king. The Rade, the Mada and other barbarous tribes, collectively known by the general appellation of the "Kirāta," now invaded the plain in the neighbourhood of Vijaya. A battle took place near the village of Slay, and the Kirātas were defeated. Unfortunately, Harivarman VI had not to fear his external enemies alone; his own relatives betrayed him. The brother of his wife called Vaṁśarāja

now joined his enemies and the Kirāta kings proclaimed him as king in the city of Madhyamagrāma. The undaunted king bravely met this new danger. Jaya Harivarman VI led his army, defeated Vaṁśarāja, captured the Kirāta army, and defeated them all.

The Kirāta difficulty was over, but Vaṁśaraja remained. He took refuge in the Annamese court and asked the Emperor for military assistance in order to place him on the throne of Champā. The Annamese Emperor acceded to his request and declared him king of Champā. The sequel is thus described :

"The king of Yavanas (Annamites), learning that the king of Kambuja had created difficulties in the way of Jaya Harivarman, proclaimed Vaṁśarāja, a citizen of Champā, as king. He gave him several Yavana generals together with hundred thousand valorous Yavana soldiers......Then Jaya Harivarman conducted all the troops of Vijaya. The two parties were engaged in a terrible combat. Jaya Harivarman defeated Vaṁśarāja......and large number of Yavana troops lay dead on the field" (1150 A.D.).

After having thus quelled the external enemies Jaya Harivarman probably hoped to reign in peace. But that was not to be. Civil war broke out, first at Amarāvatī (1151) and then at Pāṇḍuraṅga (1155). Harivarman successfully put them down, but the embers of conflict were not finally extinguished till 1160 A.D.

Having secured the throne of Champā Jaya Harivarman turned his attention to the restoration of temples and the repair of damages. He died shortly after 1162, and was probably succeeded by his son Jaya Harivarman VII. But within a year the throne of Champā was occupied by Śrī Jaya Indravarman VII, an inhabitant of Grāmapura Bijaya. It does not appear that he was related in any way to Jaya Harivarman VI or VII. On the other hand we know that the latter had at least two sons who had afterwards ruled in Champā. There is, therefore, hardly any doubt that Jaya Indravarman VII was a usurper.

Jaya Indravarman was formally consecrated to the throne about 1165 A.D. Immediately after his consecration, he sent an ambassador to China asking for investiture from the Imperial court. The presents which the ambassador took to China had been plundered from Arab merchants. The amount of tribute appeared to the Chinese emperor to be so very large, that he was at first inclined to accept only one-tenth of it ; but when he came to know of the source from which these articles had come, by the complaints of the Arab merchants themselves, he refused to take anything at all, and ordered a letter to be written to Jaya Indravarman explaining the cause of his refusal. Moreover, the council of ministers decided that it would not be prudent to invest the king of Champā with the customary honorary titles till the commotion caused by the incident had subsided.

Jaya Indravarman now turned his attention to the conquest of Kambuja. He assured the neutrality of the Annamese Emperor by payment of rich presents and sending an ambassador to pay the usual homage. Being secure in the north, he attacked the kingdom of Kambuja (1170). That kingdom was then ruled over by king Dharaṇīndravarman II. Both the opposing forces were equally matched and the war went on for a long time without any decisive result. At this time a Chinese officer, shipwrecked on the coast of Champā, taught the king a new cavalry manoeuvre and the art of throwing arrows from the back of a horse (1171 A.D.). Jaya Indravarman now asked the Chinese officer to buy horses for him in his own country. With the help of these horses he was enabled to secure some advantage against the enemy, and this induced him to look for more horses. In 1171 he sent a large number of men to Kiong Cheu, in the island of Hai Nan, with the object of purchasing as many horses as possible. They were ill received there, and therefore retaliated by plundering a number of inhabitants they came across. The terrified people then allowed them to make their purchases. But the affair came to the knowledge of the Chinese Emperor, and in 1175 he issued an order prohibiting the export of horses outside the empire.

Jaya Indravarman now gave up the idea of invading Kambuja by land. He equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedition in 1177. Proceeding along the coast, the fleet, guided by a shipwrecked Chinese, reached the mouth of the Grand River (Mekong). Then going up the river it reached the capital city. Jaya Indravarman plundered the capital and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him.

The glorious victory of Jaya Indravarman VII indicates the revival of the old prosperous days of Champā. This was further shown by the rich donations of the king to various temples. An inscription has preserved relics of something like a military feudalism that prevailed at the time. Three dignitaries of the kingdom took an oath of allegiance to the king which contained, among other promises, an undertaking to the effect that they and their children will fight for their lord in case of war as long as they live.

After Jaya Indravarman VII we find a new king at Champā named Jaya Indravarman VIII. Whether there was any relationship between the two is yet unknown, but the latter continued the "forward" policy of his predecessor and carried on an aggressive campaign against Kambuja. In 1190 A.D. the king of Kambuja, Jayavarman VII, sent an expedition against Jaya Indravarman. The leader of this expedition, who was ultimately destined to play an important part in history, was Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī

Vidyānandana. He was apparently an inhabitant of Champā, but betook himself early in life to Kambuja (1182 A.D.). The king of Kambuja, pleased at his valour, conferred on him the dignity of Yuvarāja, and when war broke out with Champā, as related above, he " sent the prince at the head of Kambuja troops in order to take Vijaya, and defeat the king Jaya Indravarman." Śrī Sūryavarmadeva obtained a complete victory. He captured the king of Champā and took him to Kambuja as a captive.

The king of Kambuja now divided Champā into two portions. He placed his own brother-in-law Sūrya Jayavarmadeva as king of the northern part, with Vijaya as capital, while Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, the victorious general, became king of the southern portion with his capital at Rājapura in Panrān.

Sūryavarmadeva prince Śrī Vidyānandana defeated a number of thieves or pirates, apparently the adherents of the late regime that had revolted against him, and reigned in peace at Rājapura. The northern kingdom, however, was soon lost to Kambuja. Within two years, Prince Rasupati, a local chief, led a revolt against the Kambuja usurper, Śrī Sūrya Jayavarman. The latter was defeated, and returned to Kambuja, while Rasupati ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva.

The king of Kambuja now sent an expedition against Vijaya (1192 A.D.). With a view, probably, to conciliate the national sentiments, by placing the captured king of Champā Śrī Jaya Indravarman on the throne, as a dependent of Kambuja, he sent him along with this expedition. The Kambuja troops first went to Rājapura. There the king Sūryavarmadeva prince Śrī Vidyānandana put himself at their head, and marched against Vijaya. He captured Vijaya and defeated and killed Jaya Indravarman Rasupati. Henceforth Sūryavarmadeva Vidyānandana threw off his allegiance to Kambuja and ruled over the whole of Champā without opposition (1192 A.D.) as an independent king. But he had shortly to reckon with the king of Kambuja whom he had so basely betrayed. In 1193 an expedition was sent against him, but he gained an easy victory. Next year the expedition was repeated on a larger scale, but he vanquished the generals of the Kambuja army. This was the crowning triumph of Śrī Sūryavarmadeva, prince Śrī Vidyānandana, who began his life as an exile, but after a romantic career gained the undisputed supremacy over the whole of Champā.

After the Kambuja war was over, the king marched to Amarāvatī and set himself to the task of restoration, which was badly needed after the late troublesome period of civil war and foreign domination. But the king was not destined to enjoy his sovereignty for a long time. He was defeated in 1203 A.D. by his paternal

uncle, called Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma, who was sent by the king of Kambuja against him.

The career of this Yuvarāja was analogous in many respects to that of king Sūryavarman himself. He, too, lived as an exile in the court of Kambuja and obtained the favours of the king. The king of Kambuja, twice baffled in his attempt to defeat Sūryavarman, at last sent the uncle against the nephew. In 1203 king Sūryavarman was defeated and the Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma ruled over Champā. He had a hard time before him. Rebellion broke out in various parts of the kingdom. The most formidable was one led by Putau Ājñā Ku, but he was put down. The king of Kambuja, pleased at his valour, conferred high dignities on him and apparently formally appointed him as the ruler of Champā in 1207 A.D.

But soon a new figure appeared on the scene. This was Jaya Parameśvaravarmadeva, son of Jaya Harivarman VII. He was the legitimate owner of the throne of Champā of which his father had been wrongly dispossessed by Jaya Indravarman VII Grāmapura Vijaya. During the period of usurpation by that monarch, and the disastrous Kambuja war that followed, he lived as an exile and at last took refuge in the court of Kambuja.

In 1201 A.D. the king of Kambuja conferred upon him the title of "Pu Poṅ pulyaṅ Śrī Yuvarāja," and afterwards gave him permission to live in Champā with the Governor Yuvarāja Dhanapatigrāma. It must have been with a mixed feeling of joy and sorrow that the exile returned to his native land, only to find the throne of his forefathers occupied by a usurper. Why he was sent to Champā, and what he had been doing there for the next twenty years are yet unknown.

Champā was at this time very hard pressed by the Annamites. Since about 1207 A.D. a long series of battles followed, in which victory more often inclined to the Annamites. These long-drawn battles must have exhausted the Kambujas. As a matter of fact, the series of warfares in which they were involved ever since 1190 A.D., when they conquered Champā, must have proved too great a burden for them. At last in 1220 A.D. the Kambujas evacuated Champā, and a formal peace was probably concluded with Jaya Parameśvaravarman in 1222 A.D. In any case the latter ascended the throne of his ancestors and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1226 A.D. Henceforth the king reigned in peace. He restored order in the different parts of his kingdom and set himself to the task of repairing damages caused by the "Kambuja war of 32 years" (1190-1222 A.D.).

Jaya Parameśvaravarman IV was succeeded by his brother Jaya Indravarman X, prince Harideva of Śakaṅvijaya some time before

1243 A.D. About this time a powerful dynasty was established on the throne of Annam. The new king of Annam made remonstrances to the court of Champā against the conduct of Cham pirates who pillaged the Annamite population on the sea-shore. The king of Champā demanded in reply the restitution of the three northern districts of Champā conquered by Annam. This irritated the Emperor of Annam who led in person an expedition against Champā. The campaign was long and arduous, but did not lead to any decisive result. The emperor returned with a number of prisoners, including a queen and a number of nobles and concubines of the king of Champā. After this Jaya Indravarman lived at peace with his northern neighbour and devoted his time to pious works.

In the year 1257 A.D. the king was murdered by his nephew, sister's son, who ascended the throne under the name of Śrī Jaya Siṁhavarman in 1257 A.D., and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1266 A.D. under the name Indravarman.

The new king wanted to remain at peace. So immediately after his coronation he sent an ambassador with tribute to the court of Annam (1266) and renewed it again in 1267, 1269, and 1270.

But the reign of king Indravarman was destined to involve Champā into one of the greatest calamities that ever befell her. She had just passed through Kambuja incursions lasting 32 years; now she was to suffer the unspeakable horrors of a Mongol invasion.

The Mongols had suddenly risen as a great power in Asia towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. Their great leader Chenghiz Khan (1162-1227 A.D.) had conquered large territories in Asia and eastern Europe, and planned the conquest of China when he died. At his death his empire extended beyond the Caspian sea and the Black sea on the west, as far as Bulgaria, Servia, Hungary and Russia. To the east it included Korea and reached the Pacific ocean, and on the south it was bounded by India, Tibet and the ruins of the splendid empire of Khwarezm. Ogotai, the son and successor of Chenghiz Khan, conquered a portion of China. In 1248 A.D. the Mongol empire passed on to Mangku (1248-1259) and then to his brother the famous Kublai Khan, a grandson of Chenghiz Khan. Kublai, who crowned himself as the Chinese emperor and fixed his capital at Peking, looked forward to the conquest of the whole of the Chinese Empire by putting an end to the Sung dynasty. This he finally accomplished in 1279 A.D. But even while he was carrying on the struggle with the Imperial dynasty, Kublai Khan sought to exact the oath of allegiance from all foreign states that had hitherto accepted the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. So an invitation was sent to the kings of Annam and Champā, to come and pay their homage as vassals to the Great

Khan. Indravarman sent two embassies, one on the 13th August, 1281, and the other, two months later, so that Kublai at last decided to confer on him the insignia of "Prince Imperial of the second rank."

Kublai now treated Champā as part of his empire. He appointed Sagatu and Lieu Cheng as viceroys to administer Champā in the name of the king. The old and feeble king submitted to this humiliation, but his proud son, the prince Harijit, could not bring himself to yield to it. He fanned the popular discontent which ultimately became so serious that the viceroys of the Khan, no longer feeling their position secure, returned to their country.

Kublai now decided on an expedition against Champā and entrusted it to Sagatu. In 1282 Sagatu, invested with the title of "the governor of the province of Champā," embarked his troops on thousand vessels—the land route through Tonkin being refused by the Annamite king—and landed his army unopposed on the coast of Champā. The Cham army was led by prince Harijit in person. Sagatu tried the method of conciliation, but failed. At last the battle took place in January, 1283. The Chams, 10,000 strong, fought obstinately for six hours, but then beat retreat. King Indravarman XI put his magazine to fire and then retired with his troops to the mountains.

Sugatu sent a detachment of his army against the king. Although successful at first, the Mongol troops were harassed by the enemy in the unknown mountain forests, and regained the camp with great difficulty and after heavy losses. But Sugatu being re-inforced from China, himself took the offensive on the 14th June, 1283, and inflicted great loss on the Cham army. King Indravarman again retired to the mountains.

The Cham campaign had already cost Kublai Khan heavily in men and money. Nevertheless, in 1284, he arranged to send another supporting army of 15,000 soldiers. The first division of the navy, carrying the first batches of soldiers, completely disappeared, and no one knew what became of her. The rest of the troops safely reached the coast of Champā under the leadership of Wan Hu. But arrived at Śrī Banoy, Wan Hu learnt to his great surprise that Sagatu had burnt his camp and started on his return journey a few days before. He then advanced alone and sent an ambassador to Indravarman asking him to come in person with his son. But the king was now in no mood to obey. He sent his grandson to the Emperor to renew the oaths of allegiance (1284), and four months later, sent an embassy of 18 persons with a prayer for the withdrawal of troops on condition of regular payment of tribute. Two months later still, the same

ambassadors again presented themselves to the court of the great Mongol with rich presents.

But in spite of all these ambassies and assurances of submission, things continued as before. The king stationed himself in the mountains, re-inforcing his army as soon as it was dispersed by the Mongols, while the latter, unable to secure any solid advantage, suffered from heat, diseases and want of provisions. So, in order to bring the campaign to a successful end, at all costs, the great Khan resolved to send by land an army sufficiently strong for the final conquest of Champā.

In order to reach Champā it was necessary to pass through Annamite territory. The king of that country, like Indravarman, had obstinately refused to pay homage in person. So when he at last received a peremptory order to give passage to the troops bound for Champā, he opposed their advance into his territory.

The Mongol troops were commanded by Togan, the son of Kublai. Failing to win over the Annamite king by diplomacy, he at last invaded the passes leading to that country and carried them one after another. Then winning victory after victory, he crossed the Red River and entered the capital of Annam as victor. At the same time Sagatu advanced from the south and defeated the enemy at Nghe-An and Than Hoa. At last the Annamite Emperor took the offensive. He defeated Togan in the north and drove back his army beyond the Red river. Sagatu, unaware of this defeat, was still advancing into the enemy's country, when he was surprised and completely defeated. He was killed in the action and his head was presented to the Annamite Emperor.

Thus Champā was at last delivered from the scourge of Mongol invasion. In order to prevent a repetition of the catastrophe Indravarman hastened to send an ambassador with rich presents to Kublai (1285). The great Khan now renounced all hopes of conquering Champā and released the prisoners.

BOOK III

CHAPTER VI

THE ANNAMITE CONQUEST OF CHAMPĀ

1. The Triumph of Annam

King Indravarman XI, who had heroically sustained the arduous struggle against his powerful foe, probably did not long survive his final triumph. It appears from the account of Marco Polo, who visited Champā about 1288, that king Indravarman was already dead.

He was succeeded by his brave son Prince Harijit, born of the queen Gauḍendralakshmī, who had bravely stood by his father in his hours of trial, and now ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Siṁhavarman IV. He restored peace in the kingdom which it badly needed after the long and arduous campaign.

The proud king dispensed with all marks of vassalage in respect of the great Kublai Khan. He also stopped the payment of usual tribute to Annam. There king Nho'n-Ton had abdicated the throne in favour of his son Anh-Ton and retired to hermitage. After spending a secluded life for some time, Nh'on-Ton desired to visit the holy places of different countries, and in 1301 A.D. came to Champā. He lived there for 9 months and was so hospitably treated by Jaya Siṁhavarman that before his departure he promised the king the hand of one of his daughters.

The court of Annam coldly received the proposal. But Jaya Siṁhavarman, who had already married a princess of Java (or Malay Peninsula) named Tāpasi, was eager for this new alliance. Negotiations continued as late as 1305, but Jaya Siṁhavarman, impatient at the delay, sent an ambassador with nuptial presents and promised to cede to Annam, on the day of marriage, the two northern provinces of his realm, corresponding to Thua Thien, the southern portion of Quang Tri and the northern part of Quang Nam. It is an irony of fate that the man who fought so valiantly for his country even at the risk of his own life, did not scruple to part with two of the most valuable provinces of his kingdom, including the

famous stronghold of Kiu S'iu, for a mere hobby. Thus was Champā dismembered a second time (cf. p. 114 above). The Annamite council made a last attempt to prevent the alliance which they considered as humiliating for the daughter of an emperor, but Anh-Ton, more practical than his ministers, was ready to sacrifice his sense of prestige and brotherly sentiments for the good of the country. He accepted the provinces and sent the princess to Jaya Siṁhavarman. But king Jaya Siṁhavarman did not live long after this marriage, and died in 1307 A.D.

Jaya Siṁhavarman was succeeded by his son prince Harijitātmaja, born of the queen Bhāskaradevī, and known as Mahendravarman. He regretted the cession of two provinces by his father which brought the northern boundary of Champā far to the south, and the people of the two provinces also chafed at the foreign domination. The result was rebellions and frequent incursions into those provinces, so much so that the Annamite colonists, installed in the two provinces, found it impossible to live there. So at the beginning of 1312, the Annamite emperor Anh Hoang decided to send an expedition against Champā.

The Emperor himself led the expedition and king Mahendravarman was induced to submit without any fight. The king with his whole family went by sea and presented themselves before the Annamite Emperor. His soldiers, however, were enraged at this humiliation, and attacked the camp of the Emperor. They were, however, soon defeated and took to flight. Thereupon Mahendravarman was made prisoner, and his brother Che-da-a-ba-niem was entrusted with the government of Champā with the title "Feudatory prince of the second rank." The campaign was over in six months and Anh Hoang came back to his capital with his royal prisoner. He gave him high honours but that was poor consolation to the captive who died at the beginning of 1313.

Che-da-a-ba-niem, who had been placed on the throne by the Annamites, assumed the name of Che Nang after coronation (1312 A.D.). Two years later, Anh Hoang abdicated the throne in favour of his son Ninh Hoang. Che Nang took advantage of this change of master by attempting to throw off his yoke to Annam. He had some successes at first but was soon defeated and took to flight. Afraid of meeting with his brother's fate, he fled from the country and took refuge in Java (*c.* 1318 A.D.). With him ended the dynasty founded by Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka in 1145 A.D.

2. THE RECOVERY OF CHAMPĀ

The kingdom of Champā was now without a king and there was probably no legitimate heir to the throne. On the recommendation of the victorious Annamite general, the Emperor appointed a military chief called A-Nan as his viceroy in Champā (1318 A.D.).

A-Nan behaved exactly like his predecessor. As soon as he felt powerful enough he wanted to shake off the Annamite yoke. For this purpose he commenced negotiations with the Mongols, and in 1323 sent his brother to the Chinese Emperor asking assistance against his powerful neighbour in the north. The Emperor Jen Tsong agreed to this and sent ambassadors to Ninh Hoang asking him to respect the integrity of Champā (1324). Ninh Hoang replied to this message by sending an expedition against Champā in 1326, but it led to disasters. A-Nan defeated his army and henceforth ceased to consider himself as his vassal.

For some time A-Nan continued his relations with the Mongols, and sent ambassadors to the Chinese court in 1327, 1328 and 1330. Then he ceased to send them. Thus A-Nan reigned during the last eleven years as an independent king and brought back peace and tranquility to the kingdom which had not known it for a long time.

A-Nan was succeeded by his son-in-law Bo De. A-Nan's son Che Mo did not take this act of usurpation lying down. He collected the royal people and fought with Bo De for the throne. Being defeated he sought protection in the court of Annam. The king of Annam sent an expedition (1353), but as the army did not meet with the navy at the appointed place, it came back. Che Mo, who was with the army, died shortly afterwards.

Bo De, elated beyond measure at the retreat of the Annamite troops, now took the offensive in order to reconquer the northern districts, but he was defeated in his first attack (1353) and gave up the enterprise.

Bo De was succeeded by Che Bong Nga. The date of his accession and his relationship with Bo De are alike unknown. But it is probable that he came to the throne some time about 1360 A.D.

The reign of Che Bong Nga was remarkable for a series of victorious campaigns against Annam. In 1361 he suddently raided the port of Da Li (Li-Hoa in Botrach). Having put to flight the soldiers who defended it, he pillaged the town and its neighbourhood, massacred the population and returned by sea with an immense booty. Next year he plundered the chief town of Hoa Chau. In 1365 the Chams carried away the boys and girls of Hoa Chau who gathered to celebrate a festival according to local custom.

At last in 1368 Du Hoang, the king of Annam, sent a powerful

army against Champā, but Che Bong Nga lay in ambush, surprised it completely and put it to a precipitate retreat.

Du Hoang, the king of Annam, died in June, 1369. One of his younger sons was placed on the throne by the intrigues of the queen-mother. But Phu, the brother of the deceased king, revolted against him, put him into prison and ascended the throne under the name of Nghia-Hoang (1370 A.D.). The queen-mother then fled to Champā and enlisted the help of Che Bong Nga. In 1371 the latter sailed with a fleet and marched unopposed to the capital. He pillaged the city, burnt the royal palace and returned with a rich booty (1371).

A year later, Nghia-Hoang abdicated the throne of Annam in favour of Kham Hoang (1372). The new king resolved to avenge the insult that Champā had inflicted upon his dynasty, and made preparations on a large scale.

After a great deal of delay, Kham Hoang at last marched at the head of more than 1,20,000 men in January 1377, and arrived unopposed before the town of Vijaya which was surrounded by a palissade. There a Cham reported to Kham Hoang that the town was deserted, that the king had taken to flight, and that by a quick march he could yet overtake the king. Heedless of the prudent counsels of his generals, Kham Hoang marched with his army, which advanced pell mell without any order or organisation. When they had proceeded some distance the Chams suddenly fell upon them and intercepted their passage. This produced such a panic in the Annamite army that it was completely routed. The Emperor with his two commanders-in-chief and several other nobles lay dead on the field.

Immediately after this great victory Che Bong Nga sailed with a fleet towards the capital of Annam. Gian Hoang, who was hastily proclaimed king, made arrangements for defending it, but Che Bong Nga entered into the town, pillaged it for a whole day, and returned with an immense booty. Next year he again marched towards Annam. Having conquered Nghe-An, and appointed there his own governor, he plundered the capital and returned with an immense booty.

Henceforth the people of Annam lived in constant terror of Champā. The Emperor Gian Hoang removed his treasures to the mountains of Thien Kien and the caves of Kha-lang for saving them from the cupidity of the Chams (1379). And it was well indeed that he had done so. For Che Bong Nga led a new expedition against Annam in 1380. The old king of Annam made preparations for defending the country both by land and sea, and at last succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Che Bong Nga who took to flight.

In spite of this defeat Che Bong Nga made constant incursions against the Annamites. In 1389 Che Bong Nga completely defeated the Annamite army and advanced towards the capital. He reached the river Hai Trieu and there was nothing to prevent him from occupying the whole country.

But at this moment the treachery of a Cham military officer changed the whole complexion of things. As Che Bong Nga advanced with about 100 vessels to reconnoitre the forces of the enemy, one of his officers, who was reprimanded and afraid of his life, passed over to the enemy and told them that the king's vessel was easily recognisable by its green colour. On learning this the Annamite commander made for the Cham navy and asked his men to concentrate the fury of their attack on the royal vessel. Suddenly a volley of musketry was fired at Che Bong Nga and he fell dead. The Chams lost heart at the sudden death of their chief and beat a precipitate retreat to rejoin the main army which was stationed at the river Hoang under the command of the general La Khai (February, 1390). La Khai immediately led back the army by forced marches day and night. The enemy overtook him but was easily defeated. As soon as he reached Champā he proclaimed himself king of the country. The two sons of Che Bong Nga, deprived of their legitimate rights, sought protection in the Annamite court. But although received there with honours and distinction they could not secure any support to regain their throne.

3. THE FINAL VICTORY OF THE ANNAMITES

La Khai who thus established a new dynasty is almost certainly, to be identified with Śrī Jaya Siṁhavarmadeva V Śrī Harijātti Vīrasiṁha Champā-pura, the founder of the Bṛishu family of kings.

Immediately after the death of Che Bong Nga, the two provinces, Tan Binh and Thuan Hoa, which he had annexed, made submission to Annam. It is probable that other parts of Champā, too, did not acknowledge the authority of Jaya Siṁhavarmadeva. He ruled for twelve years (1390-1401), and was succeeded by Śrī Vṛishu Vishṇujātti Vīra Bhadravarmadeva. The king was at first called prince Nauk Glauṅ Vijaya, and after a reign of 32 years he was consecrated and took the name of Śrī Bṛishu Indravarman.

The Annamites had never given up their intention of conquering Champā and led an expedition against it in 1401. Vīra Bhadravarman, who had just ascended the throne, opposed the enemy vigorously and forced them to retreat. It was with considerable difficulty, that the Annamite forces could regain their own territory.

In 1402, the Annamite troops again invaded Champā. Bhadravarman sent his general to oppose them, but he was killed in a fight with the vanguards of the enemy. The king was now terribly afraid of his life and throne, and sent his maternal uncle with rich presents to treat with the enemy. He offered the rich province of Indrapura on condition of cessation of hostilities and the retreat of the Annamite troops. The Annamites demanded Quang Nghia, in addition, and thus the whole of Quang-Nam and Quang-Ngi, the ancient Amarāvatī, was ceded to the enemy. It was a terrible blow to the power and prestige of Champā. The ancient capital of Indrapura was full of accumulated riches and trophies and was associated with the glorious days of the past. The province of Amarāvatī was also one of the richest and the most fertile. By this humiliating treaty the kingdom of Champā was reduced to half its size; it lost its rich fertile regions in the northern plain, and was confined to the poor mountainous region in the south.

King Bhadravarman soon repented of his act. He sent a pathetic appeal to the Chinese Emperor (1403), and the latter sent two plenipotentiaries to the Annamite court, asking it to leave its neighbour in peace. The Annamites replied by sending a force 200,000 strong against Champā both by land and sea.

The Chinese emperor became furious. He sent battleships in aid of Bhadravarman. These met the Annamite fleet which retreated before it without fighting. The Annamite army which beseiged Vijaya also raised the seige and turned back, because their provisions ran short and the town was well defended.

But the Chinese Emperor was now inclined to fight with his turbulent neighbour, and the king of Champā excited him to this action. Although the Annamite king tried to avoid the war, he was forced to it, and it was fatal to himself and to his dynasty. In July, 1407, he fell into the hands of the Chinese with his father and son, and they all died in exile.

Vīra Bhadravarman, gratified beyond all measure at this defeat of his implacable enemy, sent a sumptuous tribute to the Emperor, and received in return a still more sumptuous present. He then sent an expedition to recover the ceded provinces. The Annamite forces who defended it were easily defeated, and the two provinces, ceded in 1402, passed again into the hands of Champā.

Free from troubles in the north by the Chinese victory over the Annamites in 1407, Bhadravarman invaded Kambuja, and gained great successes. Vīra Bhadravarman died in 1441 A.D. and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā Vijaya.

Immediately after his accession Mahā Vijaya sent an ambassador to the Chinese Emperor and asked for investiture, representing that

his uncle had left the throne to him by a formal testament. The Emperor nominated him king of Champā and sent presents for the king and the queen.

Having thus been assured of friendship or at least the neutrality of China, Mahā Vijaya commenced the old tactics of harassing the Annamite frontier. He sent an expedition against the border province of Hoa Chau in 1444, and again in 1445. The second one was disastrous, for the army was suddenly caught during an inundation at the citadel of An Dung,, and suffered severe losses.

The Annamite court, tired of these border campaigns, resolved to carry the fight into the heart of Champā. The Annamite army entered into Champā, defeated the enemy troops and beseiged the capital city Vijaya (1446 A.D.). Mahā Vijaya shut himself up into the city with all his troops and hoped to be able to defy the enemy. But he was betrayed by his nephew Mahā Qui-Lai. On condition of being recognised as king of Champā he delivered up the city to the Annamites. Mahā Vijaya was made prisoner with his wives and concubines and the enemy returned to their country with an immense booty.

Mahā Qui-Lai could not long enjoy the sovereignty which he had purchased by betraying his king and his country. He was dethroned by his younger brother Qui-Do who threw him into prison and declared himself king (1449).

Towards the close of 1457 or the beginning of the next year Qui-Do was assassinated by the son of a nurse at the instance of Mahā Ban-La Tra-Nguyet. The new king was recognised by China, but he did not pay any homage to the Annamite Emperor. The result was the renewal of hostilities between the two countries, and once the Cham king lodged a formal complaint to the Chinese Emperor against the incursions of the Annamites. The king did not reign long, having abdicated the throne in 1460 in favour of his younger brother, Ban-La Tra-Toan.

The new king inherited the enmity of Annam which his predecessor's action had provoked. The Annamite Emperor Thanh Ton pretended that Champā was a feudatory state of his. Tra-Toan, however, resolved to maintain the independence of his country at any cost and decided to risk a war. He first sent a naval expedition against Hoa Chau (1469), and next year invaded the province at the head of an army 100,000 strong. He had a strong cavalry and a number of war elephants with him. The Annamite general, unable to oppose this vast army, shut himself up in his stronghold, and informed Thanh Ton of his precarious situation.

The Emperor was waiting for this very opportunity. He at once made extensive preparations for the campaign. He had

despatched a magnificient fleet containing 100,000 men and started in person with 150,000 soldiers. The huge army reached the soil of Champā in safety (1471). Tra-Toan sent his younger brother with 5,000 men on elephants to surprise the enemy camp. But the small force was hemmed round on all sides and practically cut off by the enemy.

Tra-Toan was very much alarmed at the news of this disaster and sent a member of his family to the emperor, to offer submission. But the latter continued to advance, seized Śrī Vini, and at last invested the capital city Vijaya. The city was taken by assault without much difficulty. 60,000 Chams were put to the sword, and 30,000 made prisoners. The king and fifty members of the royal family fell into the hands of the conqueror. Tra-Toan did not long survive the disgrace and died in a ship on his way to Annam.

Meanwhile a Cham general Bo Tri Tri collected the remnants of the army and took refuge in Pāṇḍuraṅga. There he proclaimed himself king and sent an ambassador to offer the oath of allegiance and tribute to Thanh Ton who accepted them. The mountains which separate the present provinces of Phu Yen and Khanh-Hoa and terminate in cape Varella henceforth formed the boundary between Annam and Champā. A boundary stone marked the limit.

Thus not only the whole of Amarāvatī, which was once ceded in 1402, but retaken by the Chams again in 1407, but also the whole of the province of Vijaya passed into the hands of the Annamites. The kingdom of Champā, which now consisted only of Kauṭhāra and Pāṇḍuraṅga, was thus reduced to nearly one-fifth of what it was even in the days of Che Bong Nga. Even the small territory that remained (*viz.* the modern districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan) was absolutely at the mercy of the powerful Annamites.

But old prestige dies hard. The petty Cham chiefs of the south still bore the proud name of the king of Champā, and the Chinese emperor not only ivested them as such, but even called upon the Annamites to restore the provinces of Vijaya and Amarāvatī to them. Three kings received formal investiture in this way from the Chinese court. The first, Chai-Ya-Ma-Fu-Ngan, said to be the nephew of a former king, died in 1478. He was probably killed by his brother Ku Lai who succeeded him and ruled from 1478 to 1505 A.D. His son and successor Cha-Ku-Pu-Lo received formal investiture from the Chinese court in 1509 A.D., and sent an ambassador to China in 1543 A.D. This was the last embassy from the king of Champā to the Chinese court.

The king had a tragic end. Taking advantage of some troubles among the Annamites he made a last desperate effort to free himself from the Annamite yoke. But he was defeated and confined in an

iron cage where he died. The Annamites on this occasion annexed the Cham territory up to the river of Phanrang. The seat of the kingdom of Champā was then removed to Bal Chanar at Phanri. There in 1720 the officers of the SS. Galathee saw the king of Champā seated on a throne and have left us an interesting account of the palace. In course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Chams were dispossessed of Khan Hoa and Phan Rang. In 1822, Po Chong, the last king, unable to bear the oppressions of the Annamites passed over to Kambuja with a colony of exiles, leaving princess Po Bia to guard over the so-called "Royal treasures of Cham" at Bal Chanar. She died full of years and honours, mourned by her faithful subjects who looked upon her as the last emblem of their independence.

Thus closed a brilliant chapter in the history of Indian colonisation. Brave sons of India, who planted her banner in far off lands and maintained its honour and dignity for more than 1500 years, at last vanished into the limbo of oblivion. But the torch of civilisation which they carried dispelled the darkness of ages and still throws its lurid light over the pages of history.

CHAPTER VII

Administrative System

Monarchy was the form of government in Champā from beginning to end. The king administered the whole state with almost absolute authority. The central administration might be broadly divided into three classes, civil, military and religious. At the head of the civil administration were two chief ministers with three grades of officials under them. The Captain of Guards and Senāpati were the chief military officers, while the religious establishment consisted of a High Priest, the Brāhmaṇas, Astrologers, Paṇḍits and Masters of ceremonies.

The kingdom was divided into three provinces.

(1) Amarāvatī, the northern part, corresponded to Quang Nam. Here were the two famous capital cities Champāpura and Indrapura. The latter occupied the site of Dong Duong.

(2) Vijaya, the central portion of the kingdom, corresponded to Binh Dinh. Its chief city, Vijaya, served for some time as the capital of the whole kingdom. It contained the famous port Śrī Vinaya.

(3) Pāṇḍuraṅga, the southern part, corresponded to the valleys of Phan-ranh and Binh Thuan. Its chief town Vīrapura, also called Rājapura, once served as the capital of the whole kingdom. The region called Kauṭhāra, corresponding to Khan Hoa, was usually included in this division, but sometimes formed an independent province.

These provinces were divided into districts, the total number of which, according to a Chinese authority, was thirty-eight in the reign of Harivarman III (1080 A.D.). Each district contained a number of towns and villages which were the lowest territorial units.

It would appear that two high functionaries, a "governor" and a "senāpati," were placed at the head of each provincial administration. The provincial governors had under them nearly fifty officials of different grades for general administration and collection of revenue. None of these officials was paid in cash, but got something like a *jagir* or maintained themselves at the cost of the people under them. The people were bound to provide for these officials, and the system of corvee or forced labour was in vogue.

The principal source of revenue seems to be the land-tax which consisted usually of one-sixth the produce, though sometimes reduced to one-tenth. The kings sometimes made a gift of this royal share to a temple for its maintenance. In addition, the king often

exempted the lands belonging to a temple from taxes. Taxes were also imposed on all industrial products and articles of merchandise.

Justice was administered in accordance with the Hindu principles. We are told that Jaya Indravarmadeva "followed the eighteen titles of law prescribed by Manu." Harivarmadeva also did the same. King Jaya Indravarmadeva is said to have been versed in the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradīya and Bhārggavīya.

Certain crimes were punished by confiscation of goods and loss of personal freedom. Slavery was also a punishment for debts. Crimes were ordinarily punished by flogging. The criminal was stretched on the ground, while two men on the right and two on the left alternately struck him as many as 50, 60 or even 100 times according to the gravity of the offence. Theft and robbery were punished by the mutilation of fingers.

Capital sentence was inflicted in many ways. Ordinarily the condemned person was fastened to a tree; then his neck was pierced through by means of a sharp spear and afterwards his head was cut off. For cold-blooded murder, or murder accompanied by robbery, the criminal was either delivered up to the people who throttled him to death, or trampled under the feet of an elephant. The rebel was tied to a post in a lonely place and was not released till he submitted. Lastly certain crimes were punished by deportation.

A large regular army was maintained by the state. At the time of Fan Wen the army was nearly forty to fifty thousand strong. It must have been considerably increased in later times. At the time of Che Bong Nga, the royal guard alone numbered 5000. The armament of the soldiers consisted of a shield, javelin, halberd, bow and cross-bow. The arrows were not feathered but their tips were poisoned. The soldiers marched with their standards at the sound of drums and conchshells. They were arranged into groups of five who were responsible for one another. If any one of them fled, the other four were liable to death.

The Cham army consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephants. The Chams learnt from the Chinese in 1171 the art of throwing arrows from the back of horses, a somewhat difficult operation, inasmuch as both hands of the rider had to be kept free. The elephants formed an important part of the army. The number of war elephants maintained in Champā was nearly one thousand. Odoric de Pordenone says that at the time of his visit to Champā (*c.* 1323 A.D.) the king had 14,000 tame elephants.

The navy consisted of large turret-ships as well as light junks. The total number of vessels was fairly large and we have several references to squadrons of more than 100 vessels supporting the movement of an army on land.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN CULTURE IN CHAMPĀ

1. Society

The Indian colonists in Champā tried to build up a society of the orthodox Hindu type, but it had to be modified in some essential aspects by the pre-existing traditions, manners and customs. The people were theoretically divided into four castes, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. But this division hardly existed in practical life except with regard to Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas.

The Indian colonists belonged mainly to the ranks of Kshatriyas and Brāhmaṇas, while there was probably no very sharp distinction between the other classes of society. The merchants, on account of their wealth, probably occupied a high position in society, but beyond this there were probably no social divisions among the common rank of people, whether Indians or Chams. There is no clear indication in the inscriptions that the conquered Chams were specially marked out for the servile position.

The distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas seems more akin to that of classes than that of castes. For one thing, it is evident that intermarriage between the two was in vogue, and such marriages were pretty frequent.

The Brāhmaṇas occupied a high position in society. They did not dominate over the king and the state to the same extent as in India. But otherwise they occupied a position of great dignity. The Brāhmaṇas were regarded as gods among men, and the murder of a Brāhmaṇa was regarded as a very heinous crime. It is doubtful, however, whether they ranked above the Kshatriyas. It is true that in the only instance where the traditional four castes are enumerated, the Brāhmaṇas occupy the conventional position of supremacy; but in a good many instances where only the two classes are mentioned, the Kshatriyas are placed before the Brāhmaṇas, as we find in Buddhist and Jaina books in India. On the whole, the available materials seem to show that the distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas was not a very rigid

one, and they cannot be said to have formed two castes in the strict sense of the term. The society was really divided into two broad classes, the higher one composed of Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, and the lower one consisting of the remaining people.

But there was another important distinction in society, *viz.* that between the aristocracy and commonalty. These two divisions were certainly overlapping to a great extent. In other words, although the members of the aristocracy most often belonged to the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya classes, it almost certainly comprised other people, who gained this high rank by virtue of wealth or services to the state.

The external symbols of aristocracy were

(1) Articles of dress and ornaments.

(2) Right to use special conveyances, such as palanquins and elephants, to the accompaniment of music etc.

(3) Claim to be seated near the king.

In these aspects the Indian colonists kept up the tradition of their motherland. In ancient India people laid a great stress upon the special privileges of wearing particular dresses and using particular conveyances, and these distinctions were granted by the king upon poets and other great personages in recognition of their merit or loyal and faithful services. Traces of these customs still persist in the Native States of India, particularly among the Rajput States.

A few valuable informations regarding the dress and ornaments of common people in ancient Champā may be derived from a study of sculptures.

First as to the dress. It is indeed very striking, that the sculptures represent the dress of the people as very scanty. Only the portion below the waist is covered; the rest of the body, even in cases of famales, is nude. The evidence of art in this respect is in full agreement with the Chinese accounts. It is possible that in course of time a garment for the upper part of the body was introduced, but this is not reflected in the artistic representations, till a very late period. It may be mentioned that even today the women in the island of Bali use no clothing above the waist.

As to the dress which covered the lower part of the body it may be broadly divided into two classes, the long and the short. The long one extends down to the ankle while the short one never reaches beyond the knee, and sometimes even stops short much above it. The long dress resembles a modern petticoat, while the short one looks like drawers. As a rule women put on the former and the men, the latter. Both were tied to the waist by a belt which was sometimes richly decorated with jewels.

The ascetics and the servants are often figured as dressed in an Indian *languṭi*, a narrow strip of cloth passing round the hip and between the legs.

The Chams paid some attention to hair-dressing. The sculptures have preserved a number of specimens, showing the curious ways in which they tied their hair in various fanciful patterns. They also used head-coverings of various types. Only the upper classes used shoes made of skin, while the common people walked barefooted.

The ornaments were many and varied in character, chief among them being discs, rings and pendents of the ear, bracelet, armlet, necklace, girdles, anklet etc.

The ideals of marriage, details of the ceremony and the relation of husband and wife resembled those of India. The *Satī* system was also in vogue. There were also many popular festivals which we find in India. The Chams were very fond of dance and music, and their funeral ceremony was analogous to that of India. An infamous activity of the Cham mariners was the systematic piracy in which they were engaged. Not only did they pillage defenceless towns and ports on the sea-coast by a sudden raid but they also captured and plundered vessels which passed along their coast. The vessels going to or coming from China which had of necessity to sail close to the shores of Annam, were their special victims, and for some time the Annamese waters came to be regarded with terror by the trading people of the east.

An indirect consequence of this nefarious activity of the Chams was the influx of slaves among them. Regular slave-trade was carried on by Cham merchants and slaves formed a prominent element of the population in addition to aristocracy and commonalty.

2. LITERATURE

Indian literature was highly cultivated in Champā, and Sanskrit was the official language. This is proved by more than one hundred Sanskrit Inscriptions that have so far been discovered in Champā. These were written in an alphabet derived from India. Not only were Indian books imported and studied, but even new books were written in Sanskrit, and the name of at least one such book and an extract from it have reached us.

The kings themselves took a leading part in the literary activity. Thus king Bhadravarman is said to have been versed in the four Vedas. King Indravarman III was proficient in the well-known six systems of philosophy as well as in Buddhist

philosophy, Pāṇini's grammar with Kāśikā, and the Ākhyāna and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivas. King Śrī Jaya Indravarmadeva VII was versed in grammar, astrology, the Mahāyāna philosophy and the Dharmaśāstras, notably the Nāradīya and the Bhārgavīya. Whether these kings were as learned as their court-poets would have us believe may be doubted, but that these different branches of Sanskrit literature formed familiar subjects of study in Champā may be regarded as fairly certain.

To the list of subjects thus obtained we may add, on the authority of the inscriptions themselves, the two epics, *viz.* the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata ; the religious literature, particularly those of the Śaivas, Vaishṇavas and the Buddhists, the Manu-smṛiti and the Purāṇas. A considerable knowledge of the classical Sanskrit literature, including kāvyas and prose romances, is reflected in the style of composition of the Sanskrit inscriptions.

The extent of literary activity in Champā even at an early period of its history is proved by a passing reference in a Chinese chronicle that after the Chinese general Lieu Fang had sacked the city of Champā in 605 A.D. he carried with him 1350 Buddhist works.

3. RELIGION—ŚAIVISM

Of the three members of the Hindu Trinity Śiva occupied an unquestioned position of supremacy in the Hindu colony of Champā. The two principal groups of temples in ancient Champā, *viz.* those of Myson and Po-Nagar, are dedicated to Śivaite gods. Further, the God was regarded as the tutelary deity of both the city and the kingdom of Champā.

Śiva is expressly referred to as " the chief of the Trinity " and the " supreme god of gods " in quite a large number of inscriptions. We have also a brilliant picture of the assembly of gods, illustrating the supremacy of Śiva, " with Indra in front, Brahmā to the right, the Moon and the Sun at the back, and the god Nārāyaṇa to the left." But Śiva is not conceived in the abstract alone. He appears as a concrete divine figure with familiar myths and legends clustering round him. The old popular god of Indian masses reappears in a foreign land with his well-known features.

In Champā, Śiva was represented both as human figure as well as in his *liṅga* form. The latter occurs more frequently, as in India, than the image of Śiva.

One of the oldest *liṅgas* of Śiva came to be regarded as the national deity and maintained this position throughout the course

of its history. The *liṅga* was established by king Bhadravarman towards the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. and was named Bhadreśvara, for it was customary to designate the God by a name composed of the first part of the king's name and the world Īśvara. This *liṅga* named Bhadreśvara or Bhadreśvarasvāmī was placed in a temple at Myson which soon became a national sanctuary and the centre of a group of magnificent temples. The temple was burnt some time between 478 and 578 A.D., but restored by king Śambhuvarman, who confirmed the endowments previously given by Bhadravarman. Following the custom set on foot by the latter, he associated his own name with that of the God, and called him Śambhu-Bhadreśvara. Successive kings, such as Prakāśadharma, Indravarman II and many others vied with one another in richly endowing this 'God of gods,' and composing hymns of praise in his honour. In course of time a mythical origin was attributed to the *Liṅga*. It is said in an inscription, dated 875 A.D., that Śiva himself gave it to Bhṛigu, and Uroja having got it from the latter, established it in Champā. We are told that Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, the greatest of gods, and the only one fit to be worshiped, was the guardian deity of Champā, all the kings of which have become famous in the world through his grace and favour.

From the middle of the eleventh century A.D. Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara came to occupy the position of national God. It appears extremely likely that we find here the old God Śambhu-Bhadreśvara under a new name, for the God Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara is also said to be built by Uroja. Henceforth king after king declares himself to be an incarnation of Uroja, and restores or endows the temple of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara which Uroja had formerly established on the Vagvan mountain. The temple suffered much in the hands of the enemies, particularly the Kambujas, and was therefore repaired and endowed by a succession of kings sometimes with the booty taken from the Kambujas themselves.

Jaya Indravarman VII decorated the temple of Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara with silver and coated all the pinnacles of the temple with gold. The total amount of gold required for the above purposes was nearly 75 lbs. Troy in weight, and the amount of silver nearly 35,000 lbs.

In addition to the Śiva-*liṅga*, which attained the position of the national deity, there were many others, though of less importance. The most remarkable among these was a *Mukha-liṅga* of Śambhu in Po-Nagar. We learn from an inscription of the 8th century A.D. that this *Mukha-liṅga* was established by a king named Vichitrasagara. Two inscriptions even profess to give the exact date of this

event. It was established, we are told, in the year 5911 of the Dvāpara Yuga, about 1,780,500 years ago. How this date was arrived at, it is impossible to say, the main idea, no doubt, being to refer it to a hoary antiquity. This *liṅga* was destroyed in 774 A.D. by savage races coming by way of sea, but king Satyavarman restored it and called it Satyamukha-*liṅga*. We find reference to this *liṅga* as late as the 12th century A.D., but it never acquired the status of a national deity like Śambhu-Bhadreśvara or Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

The kings of Champā seem to have regarded it as a pious duty not only to maintain and endow the famous *liṅgas* of olden times but also to establish new ones. In such cases the almost universal practice was to associate the king's name with the new image, a practice well-known in India.

A number of deities came to be associated with Śiva. The most important among them was, of course, the 'Śakti' of Śiva, known variously as Umā, Gauri, Bhagavatī, Mahābhagavatī, Devī and Mahādevī. She was also called Mātṛiliṅgeśvarī and Bhūmīśvarī. She was the daughter of Himālaya and the incomparable and loving spouse of Śiva, worthy of being adored with joy by that god.

The cult of Śakti worship seems to have been most prevalent in the southern region known as Kauṭhāra. Here was established the goddess Yapu Nagara or Bhagavatī Kauṭhāreśvarī, in the temple of Po-Nagara which became a national sanctuary of the Chams comparable to that of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara or Śrīśāna-Bhadreśvara.

The second deity associated with the Śiva cult is Gaṇeśa, also called Vināyaka. The extant images of Gaṇeśa at Champā are indeed so numerous that his cult seems to have been at one time even more popular than that of Umā, his mother. The god is usually represented as seated on a pedestal, with a corpulent body and the head of an elephant.

The third Śaiva deity, Kārttika, known also as Kumāra, seems to have enjoyed a great popularity in Champā. Four or perhaps five images of the god have been discovered so far. In two of these the god has his usual *Vāhana* the peacock. In two others, however, the god rides on rhinoceros, a conception unknown in India, though familiar in Kambuja.

Lastly, a word must be said about Nandin, the *Vāhana* of Śiva and Umā. Separate images of Nandin are found in large number in the vestibules of temples. The figure is that of a recumbent humped bull looking towards the god in the temple.

4. VAISHNAVISM

Although not so prominent as Śaivism, Vaishṇavism also played an important part in Champā. Vishṇu was known by various names, such as Purushottama, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Govinda and Mādhava. But as in India, the incarnations of Vishṇu probably claimed greater homage than the god himself. Two of these, Rāma and Kṛishṇa, are again and again referred to. Vishṇu is said to have divided his essence under the form of four Rāmas *viz.* Rāma and his three younger brothers. Prominence is given to the heroic feats performed by Vishṇu in his incarnation as Krishṇa. He held aloft mount Govardhana and destroyed Kaṁsa, Keśī, Chāṇūra, Arishṭa and Pralamba.

Kings of Champā took delight in comparing themselves to Vishṇu, and sometimes even regarded themselves as his incarnation. Thus Jaya Rudravarman was regarded as incarnation of Vishṇu and his son, king Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva Śivanandana regarded himself as a unique Vishṇu, whose glories surpassed those of Rāma and Kṛishṇa, firmly established in all directions.

The concrete conception of Vishṇu is that of a god with four arms. His *Vāhana* is Garuḍa, but he sometimes lies down on the fathomless bed of the ocean of milk, served by Vāsuki, the serpent king, with infinite hood.

Lakshmī, the Śakti of Vishṇu, also referred to as Padmā and Śrī, was a well-known goddess of Champā and is frequently referred to in inscriptions.

Like Nandin, the *Vāhana* of Śiva, Garuḍa, the *Vāhana* of Vishṇu, was also a familiar object in Champā.

5. BRAHMĀ AND OTHER GODS

Brahmā, the third god of the Hindu Trinity, is referred to as creator in several inscriptions, but does not seem to hold a very prominent position in Champā.

The characteristic features of the image of Brahmā are his four faces—of course only three being visible in most cases—and his *Vāhana*, the goose. His common attributes are rosary and lotus stems.

Although the great gods of the Hindu Trinity, *viz.* Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva almost monopolised the homage and worship of the people, the lesser gods of the Hindu pantheon were not altogether forgotten. Among them may be mentioned Indra, the king of the gods ; Yama, the god of death ; Chandra, the Moon-god ; Sūrya, the

Sun-God; Kuvera, the god of wealth, and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.

In order to complete the sketch of Brahmanical religion in Champā we must briefly allude to certain general conceptions.

In the first place, the abstract conception of a surpreme God was not altogether superseded by the images of Śiva, Vishṇu etc. We find reference to Him in an Inscription. He is referred to as the Creator whose ways are incomprehensible to men.

Secondly, emphasis is laid upon the performance of sacrifices. Merits of sacrifices are extolled again and again.

The pessimistic current of Indian thought seems to have made a deep impression upon the Chams. Again and again we read in the inscriptions how the kings and nobles, recognising the unsubstantial nature of wealth and wordly gain and thinking that this body is as impermanent as the foam floating on waters, performed "meritorious works," to atone for all evil deeds as well as for the sake of salvation, or, as is often expressed in a more concrete form, for gaining the heaven of Śiva.

5. BUDDHISM

Buddha is known by various names such as Jina, Lokanātha, Lokeśvara, Sugata, Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Vajrapāṇi, Vairochana and Pramuditalokeśvara. That Buddhism had a fairly strong hold on the people of Champā is evidenced by the fact that a victorious Chinese general carried away 1350 Buddhist works from Champā in 605 A.D.

Buddhism seems to have obtained a great deal of royal favour, and statues and temples of Buddha were erected by kings and people alike. There was also a powerful community of Buddhist monks and we hear of erection of monasteries in different parts of the kingdom.

King Śrī Jaya Indravarman, also known as Lakshmīndra Grāmasvāmī, installed an image of Lokeśvara called after him Lakshmīndra-Lokeśvara, in 875 A.D. He also founded a monastery for the perpetual enjoyment of the Bhikshu-saṁgha or the community of monks, and placed therein all the necessaries of life.

Dong Duong appears to have been an important stronghold of Buddhism. The excavations at that place have unearthed the remains of a Buddhist temple, far greater in dimensions than the largest Brahmanical temple in Champā. Several images of Buddha have also been discovered amid the ruins. An image of Buddha found at Dong Duong is nearly 5 ft. in height. A fine standing

image of Buddha in bronze has also been found at Dong Duong. It is regarded as the most artistic representation of Buddha so far discovered in Champā.

A characteristic feature of the religious development in Champā is the spirit of toleration that marked it from beginning to end.

Although sectarianism prevailed, and two or three predominant Brahmanical sects flourished side by side with Buddhism, we hear of no animosity in the field of religion. On the other hand, we find a liberal and catholic spirit paying reverence to all religious sects. The kings, too, often practically demonstrated their eclectisism. Thus king Prakāśadharma installed Śiva-liṅgas and at the same time erected a temple of Vishṇu. King Indravarman, too, shows equal zeal towards Śaivism and Buddhism. Such instances can be multiplied almost to any extent. The people, too, followed the example of the kings. In this respect the Indian colonists maintained the best traditions of their motherland.

6. ART

Although Champā cannot boast of such splendid edifices as we find in Cambodia and Java, and her monuments, mainly built of bricks, have mostly disappeared, yet the remains, such as still exist, indicate a fairly developed artistic sense and manual skill of her people. As in India, the art in Champā was mostly the hand-maid of religion, and the people lavished their skill and resources mainly on religious edifices and images of gods and goddesses.

All the temples in Champā belong essentially to one characteristic type, though varying a great deal in detail. They are generally built in bricks and are situated on an eminence. The sanctuary or the cella containing the image of god occupies the centre. It generally faces the east and has sometimes, in front of it, another building of similar shape running from east to west which serves as the porch or Nāṭamandir. Sometimes we find two subsidiary sanctuaries built in the same line from north to south as the principal sanctuary. These are often later additions. In rare cases this central group of shrines is accompanied by subsidiary temples. Sometimes these are very small and attached to the wall of enclosure.

All these buildings are enclosed by a wall and the only access to this sacred enclosure is through a Gate-Tower towards the east. It has the shape of the principal sanctuary, and its two doorways opposite each other, are approached by two flights of stairs on the

east and west. Beyond this is often found a Big Hall with tiled roofs, supported by thin walls or merely pillars.

The interior of the sanctuary is a square chamber. Its vertical walls are plain but polished. Above, the roof consists of one conical vault formed by a succession of rings which rise in gradually diminished proportions as far as the top.

The sanctuary opens into a vaulted passage which leads to an elaborate doorway with threshold, lintel and frames, all made of stone, and above the lintel is a tympanum of brick or stone. This tympanum often contains sculptures which are sometimes of an elaborate character.

Externally, the sanctuary consists of a square tower with a Śikhara. There are at least three distinct types of Śikharas. The normal type consists of a series of four storeys, one above the other, diminishing as they rise, and crowned by a curvilinear pyramidal stone slab (Pl. XIII). The second type consists of two storeys, the upper one having the shape of an elongated arched vault with ogival ends at two sides. The third type of Śikhara consists of a curvilinear pyramidal dome springing directly from the walls of the sanctuary, and surmounted by a massive circular member of corrugated form, resembling what is called the Āmalaka in the Śikharas of North Indian temples.

The temples in Champā are made of brick, though stone slabs are used to add strength or for decorative purposes. Thus the door-frame, lintel, angular pieces *etc.* are frequently made of stone.

There are three important groups of temples in Champā *viz.* those of Myson, Dong Duong and Po Nagar, the second being Buddhist, and the other two Śaivite in character.

The Myson group of temples is situated in a valley, about 21 miles south-south-east of Touranne. The valley is almost circular and measures about a mile from the top of one ridge to another. It has only one opening to the north through which runs a small river. The temples at Myson are more than thirty in number, with halls gate-towers and a number of subsidiary buildings (Pl. XIV).

The ruins of Dong Duong, about 12 miles to the south-east of Myson, cover a rectangular area, 328 yds. by 164 yds. It is enclosed by a low brick wall which has only one opening to the east. The rectangle is divided lengthwise in three long narrow blocks of slightly unequal dimensions running east to west. At the western end of the central block is situated the principal sanctuary, surrounded by four sanctuaries built on the same terrace. An imposing building with four bays stands in front of it, and there are two other temples and two residential blocks. The whole is surrounded by a wall, forming the first courtyard. Along the sides of this wall, within the

courtyard, are seven small temples, and beyond it are two other court-yards containing chambers, halls etc.

The temples at Po Nagar, near Nha Trang in the district of Khanh Hoa, are six in number, arranged in two lines, running north to south, on the top of a hillock. All these buildings were enclosed by a wall (Pl. XV).

The art of sculptor was highly developed in Champā. The best specimens are, of course, the numerous images of gods and goddesses discovered in all parts of the country. The bas-relief decorations in temples are sometimes of high quality.

The Cham artists excelled in floral decorations. Although they treated foliage in a conventional manner, they added an element of grace and beauty which made it highly charming. The style is purely Indian. Most of the foliage patterns occur on pillars and pilasters, and are in the shape of scrolls; sometimes, as in India, the whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved.

A few words must be said in conclusion regarding the origin of the peculiar style of architecture prevalent in Champā. The characteristic feature of a Cham temple seems to be its storied roof of several stages, in gradually diminishing proportions, each of which is again a minaure of the whole. Now this is the characteristic feature of what is known as the Dravidian style and makes its appearance as early as the seventh century A.D. in the Mamallapuram Raths and the temples at Conjeeveram and Badami. Any one who compares the Dhramarāja Rath and Arjuna Rath with the normal type of temples in Champā cannot but be struck with the essential resemblance between the Śikharas of the two. It may not also be uninteresting to note that the Dharmarāja Rath is expressly designated as a temple of Śiva named after the king as 'Atyantakāma-Pallaveśvara,' as was the case with the Myson temple which was known as that of Śambhu-Bhadreśvara after its founders. Again, some of the temples of Champā have an elongated curved roof with ogival ends and this had its counterpart in Ganesh Rath and Sahadeva Rath. The third type of Śikharas, *viz.* the curved ones, resembles Draupadi's Rath and is probably derived from those of North-Indian style. The basement of the temples at Champā also resembles those at Conjeeveram and Badami. On the whole it seems impossible not to connect the style of Champā with the early Dravidian style both of which rise into prominence more or less about the same time. While we remember that Indians from the eastern part of India played a prominent part in the colonisation of the Far East, and also the great extent to which Indian civilisation had influenced that of Champā, we need not hesitate to trace the origin of Cham style to Indian temples at Badami, Conjeeveram

and Mamallapuram—particularly as this part of India was the nearest by way of sea to the kingdom of Champā. It is quite true that the Chams did not blindly imitate the Indian proto-types and added new elements of their own, but the fact that their style was throughout based upon the essential and characteristic features of Indian style, seems to be beyond question.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

FU-NAN, THE EARLIEST HINDU EMPIRE

KAMBUJA, from which the name Cambodia is derived, roughly corresponded, in extent, to this modern state with Cochin-China added to it. It thus comprised the valley of the Mekong river with the three provinces of Kampot on the west and Svay Rieng and Thbong Khmum on the east. The last two are, however, watered by the two branches of the river Vaicos which are joined to the Mekong across the vast marshy plains by innumerable canals, both natural and artificial, and may be regarded as its tributaries forming a common delta in Indo-China.

It has been suggested that the name of the river Mekong is derived from the Mā-Gaṅgā, the mother-Ganges. Whatever we may think of this, there is no doubt that this river played as important a rôle in the history of Kambuja as the Ganges did in the early history and civilisation of Northern India.

The Mekong is to Cambodia what the Nile is to Egypt. It is its very life. Its banks supply the habitations of the people and its regular annual inundations fertilise the country. The region beyond the reach of the flood-water is nothing but an arid desert.

From the point, below the rapid of Prah Patang, where the Mekong enters Cambodia, it is enlarged, and its bed is nearly doubled, by the large marshy depressions running parallel to its course, which have been mostly formed by the old beds of the river. It covers the country by its ramifications and is joined, near Phnom Penh, by a wide sheet of water, which connects it to the vast lake of Tonle Sap, about 62 miles to the north-west. From this point of junction the river branches off into two wide streams, connected by numerous cross canals and forming islands in the intervening region, till they both fall into the China Sea forming the rich delta of Cochin-China.

When in June the sun-rays melt the snow on the Tibetan plateau and the water comes rushing down the hill streams, the Mekong and its tributaries rapidly rise, cut through their steep

banks by numerous sluices, and overflow the whole region right up to the borders of the forest on the 'Highlands.' Then behind the steep river banks, marked by fruit trees, gardens and dwelling houses, one sees only a vast sheet of water submerging beneath it the lakes, the marshes and the plain. It is not till October that the water recedes and the ground becomes dry enough for cultivation.

This vast area of 'lowlands,' annually inundated by the Mekong, forms practically the whole of the inhabited area of Cambodia at the present day. In the region north of Phnom Penh, the people are settled mostly in groups along the bank of the Mekong and its tributaries, or on the borders of the highlands. In the dry season they temporarily settle in the outlying areas for purposes of cultivation, but immediately after the harvest is over they return to their homes on the river in time before it is flooded again.

In the region south of Phnom Penh the habited area is not so strictly confined to the river banks. There the people also spread here and there, wherever there are highlands fit for cultivation. This region abounds in palm-trees, and, viewed from the top of a high temple, looks like a vast palm-forest dotted by marshes or rice-fields. The region to the north and west of the 'lowlands,' beyond the reach of the annual flood, may be termed the highlands, which extends up to the Dangrek mountains in the north. The low grounds of this region are full of muddy depressions, covered with high thick grass, while the higher part, mostly covered by a reddish gravel stone without moss or naked sandstone, is nothing but an arid limitless forest. The whole of this area now lies deserted and uncultivated and is merely haunted by wild animals. But it was in the southern part of this region called Angkor that the Hindus built mighty cities and magnificent monuments which still excite the wonder of the world. The Hindu colonists, after a hard struggle with nature, converted it into a flourishing centre of civilisation. When they passed away, nature triumphed and the region relapsed to its old primaeval condition.

The beginnings of Indian colonies in Cambodia, like those in other parts of Indo-China, are lost in oblivion, but are echoed in local legends and traditions. These legends and traditions cannot, of course, be regarded as true chronicles of events, but they possess historical importance inasmuch as they have preserved the popular beliefs about the foundation of Hindu civilisation, and indicate in a general way the process of Hindu colonisation of these lands.

The earliest Hindu kingdom in Cambodia is known as Fu-nan, the name by which the Chinese called it. It corresponded roughly to Cambodia and Cochin-China. The legend current in Fu-nan, as

recorded by a Chinese named Kang Tai in the third century A.D., runs as follows:—

"The sovereign of Fu-nan was originally a female called Lieu-ye. There was a person called Huen-chen of Ho-fu. He was a staunch devotee of a Brahmanical god who was pleased with his piety. He dreamt that the god gave him a divine bow and asked him to take to sea in a trading vessel. In the morning he went to the temple of the god and found a bow. Then he embarked on a trading vessel and the god changed the course of wind in such a manner that he came to Fu-nan. Lieu-ye came in a boat to plunder the vessel. Huen-chen raised his bow and shot an arrow which pierced through the queen's boat from one side to the other. The queen was overtaken by fear and submitted to him. Thereupon Huen-chen ruled over the country."

The same story is repeated in later Chinese texts, in some cases with additional details, such as the marriage between Huen-chen and Lieu-ye. The names of the king and queen are variously written as Huen-huei or Huen-tien and Ye-lieu. Huen-tien and Lieu-ye may be accepted as the correct forms. Huen-tien and the other variant forms represent the Indian name Kauṇḍinya. Lieu-ye probably means "Leaf of Willow."

According to the Chinese account the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Huen-tien, who was a follower of the Brahmanical religion, introduced the elements of civilised life among them; in particular he made the women wear clothes.

This Huen-tien was most probably a Hindu colonist who came direct from India, though the possibility is not altogether excluded that he might have been a Hinduised colonist from some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. From the accounts of subsequent events his arrival cannot be placed later than the first century A.D. No particulars of Huen-tien's reign are known to us, but his son is said to have been given an appanage of seven towns. His descendants continued to rule for about 100 years. Pan-Pan, the last ruler, left the cares of government to his great general Fan-man, or Fan-che-man. When the king died after a reign of three years Fan-che-man was elected king by the people (*c.* 200 A.D.).

Fan-che-man was an able ruler and laid the foundations of the greatness of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and conquered about ten kingdoms. He established his authority over the neighbouring states to a distance of five or six thousand *li* which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Although the Chinese names of the vassal states cannot all be satisfactorily identified, we may hold in a general way that nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-nan which thus became the first Hindu Colonial Empire in Indo-China. Fan-che-man assumed the title "Great king of Fu-nan," and was

about to lead a campaign against Kin-lin (Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa) when he fell ill and died. During his illness he had sent his eldest son Fan-kin-cheng to take charge of the army, but the general Fan-chan, son of the elder sister of Fan-che-man, taking advantage of the absence of Fan-kin-cheng, declared himself king and put Fan-kin-cheng to death (*c.* 225 A.D.).

The reign of Fan-chan is of special importance as we know definitely that he established diplomatic relations with both China and India. He sent an embassy to China in 243 A.D. offering as presents a few musicians and some products of the country. He also sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-Wu embarked at Teu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola, and reached the mouth of the great river of India (Ganges) after about a year. Having proceeded up the river for 7000 *li* he met the king of India. The latter cordially welcomed Su-Wu and arranged for his visit to the different parts of the kingdom. He sent two envoys to accompany Su-Wu to the king of Fu-nan with a present of four horses of the Yu-che country, and these came to Fu-nan four years after Su-Wu had left the country.

These four years, however, witnessed great political changes. King Fan-chan was no longer on the throne of Fu-nan. He was assassinated by Fan-chang, a younger son of Fan-che-man. Fan-chang was a baby at the time of his father's death, but when he was twenty years old, he collected a few brave persons and killed Fan-chan in order to avenge the murder of his elder brother. It is not definitely known whether Fan-chang ascended the throne, but even if he did so, his reign must have been short. He was assassinated by the general Fan-siun who succeeded him as king of Fu-nan.

It was during the reign of Fan-siun, probably some time between 245 and 250 A.D., that the Chinese ambassadors K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying visited Fu-nan. It was evidently in recognition of the embassy sent by him to China. The Chinese ambassadors met there Chen-song one of the envoys sent by the king of India.

K'ang Tai wrote an interesting account of Fu-nan. The only point that need be referred to here is his observation that though the country is beautiful it is strange that the men went about naked. King Fan-siun, however, stopped this indecent habit.

Fan-siun had a long reign and sent several embassies to China in the years 268, 285, 286 and 287 A.D.

The next reference to Fu-nan in Chinese history is in connection with an embassy sent in A.D. 357 by a Hindu, named Chan-tan. According to the Chinese texts this Hindu took the title of the king

of Fu-nan. This indicates a period of political troubles with several claimants for the throne. The name of the Hindu may be restored as Chandana or Chandra.

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the throne of Fu-nan was occupied by Kiao-chen-ju or Kauṇḍinya. The history of the Liang Dynasty has preserved the following story about him :

"Kauṇḍinya was a Brahman and an inhabitant of India. One day he heard a supernatural voice asking him to go and reign in Fu-nan. He reached Pan-pan to the south of Fu-nan. The people of Fu-nan cordially welcomed him and elected him king. He introduced Indian laws, manners and customs."

This story preserves an echo of a fresh stream of influence coming direct from India, as a result of which the country was thoroughly Brahmanised.

Next we hear of Che-li-to-pa-mo, a successor of Kauṇḍinya, sending embassies, with presents, to the imperial Court in 434, 435 and 438 A.D.

The Chinese texts tell us a great deal more about another successor of Kauṇḍinya.

"Towards the close of the Song period (420-478 A.D.) king Cho-ye-pa-mo (Jayavarman) ruled in Fu-nan. His family name was Kauṇḍinya. He sent some merchants to Canton for purposes of trade. On their return journey the Indian monk Na-Kia-sien (Nāgasena) joined them for coming back to his country. But a storm forced them to land in Champā whose people plundered all their goods. Nāgasena, however, reached Fu-nan.

In A.D. 484 Jayavarman sent Nāgasena to the imperial court with a long petition, the full text of which is given in the Chinese chronicles. The petition narrates in detail how a rebellious subject of Fu-nan, named Kieu-cheu-lo, fled to Champā, organised a rebellion there and made himself master of Champā. He was there indulging in all sorts of violence and injustice, and what was worse, adopted an attitude of open hostility against the king of Fu-nan, his original master. Jayavarman asked for help from the emperor. Even if the emperor were unwilling to send a powerful army to chastise the king of Champā, Jayavarman requested him to send a small force to help him in punishing the wicked king. Nāgasena proceeded to the imperial capital and gave an account of the manners and customs of Fu-nan, the most interesting point in which is a reference to the dominant cult of Maheśvara. He also presented a poem, which is somewhat obstruse but evidently eulogises the god Maheśvara, Buddha and the emperor.

The emperor praised the god Maheśvara and condemned the wicked usurper of the throne of Champā. But then he added: "It is only by the culture and virtue that I attract the distant people, but I do not like to have recourse to arms."

In 503 A.D. Jayavarman again sent an embassy to the imperial court with presents including an image of Buddha, made of coral. He sent two more embassies to the imperial court, one in 511 and the other in 514 A.D. There is no doubt that throughout his reign a very cordial and intimate relation subsisted between the two countries. This is further evidenced by the fact that two

Buddhist monks of Fu-nan settled in China, and translated canonical texts.

Jayavarman's chief queen was named Kulaprabhāvatī. His death was followed by a struggle for the throne. His elder son Rudravarman, born of a concubine, succeeded him after having killed the younger son born of a legitimate wife. Most probably this son was Guṇavarman, and his mother was Kulaprabhāvatī, of both of whom we possess Sanskrit inscriptions.

Rudravarman sent no less than six embassies to China between 517 and 539 A.D. He is also known to us from a Sanskrit Buddhist inscription. He is the last king of Fu-nan referred to by name in the Chinese texts. During or shortly after his reign Fu-nan was invaded by the rulers of Kambuja, which was originally a vassal state in northern Cambodia but had grown very powerful under able rulers and thrown off the yoke of Fu-nan. The king of Fu-nan was defeated and removed his capital to the southern part. But before the end of the seventh century A.D., Fu-nan was completely conquered by Kambuja and ceased to exist as a separate political unit.

The early history of Fu-nan is a repetition of that of almost every ancient Hindu colony in the Far East. Originally a country of savages or semi-barbarians, it imbibes the element of civilisation from a Hindu or Hinduised chief who established his authority either by conquest or by more peaceful methods. Gradually it comes more and more into direct contact with India and Hindu culture and civilisation becomes the dominant feature.

In the case of Fu-nan we can distinctly trace two broad stages of Indianisation, one in the first and another in the fourth century A.D., and in both cases under the influence of its rulers, whose names are supposed to represent the same Indian name, Kauṇḍinya. The earlier, Hu-tien, is said to have followed the Brahmanical cult; but there is no definite information of his original home. There is, however, no doubt that Kauṇḍinya of the fourth century A.D. came direct from India, as this is explicitly stated in the Chinese Texts.

The earliest general account of Fu-nan is given in he History of the Tsin Dynasty which covers the period from 265 to 419 A.D. It runs as follows —

"The kingdom of Fu-nan is more than 3000 *li* to the west of Lin-yi (Champā) in a great bay of the ocean. The country is three thousand *li* in extent. There are many walled towns, palaces, and houses. The people are black and ugly. They have curly hair and go about naked and barefooted. Their nature is simple and they are not at all given to theft or robbery. They apply themselves to agriculture. They sow one year and gather harvest during next three years. Moreover they love to engrave and chisel their ornaments. They mostly take their food on silver utensils. The taxes are paid in gold, silver, pearls and perfumes.

They have many books and there are libraries and archives. In writing they use an alphabet derived from India. Their funeral and marriage ceremonies are like those of Champā."

Other Chinese texts also contain accounts of Fu-nan. These, along with the three Sanskrit inscriptions so far discovered, leave no doubt that the people of Fu-nan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation to a very large extent.

The three principal religions of India, *viz.* Śaivism, Vaishṇavism and Buddhism all flourished in Fu-nan. Indian philosophical ideas, religious beliefs and mythology were familiar, and the rituals and forms of worship were well-known. Sanskrit language and literature were cultivated and the Indian alphabets were used in writing. The Brāhmaṇas versed in the Veda, Upaveda and Vedāṅga settled there in large number. Indian art also made its influence felt, and temples and images of gods, similar to those in India, were set up in various parts of the kingdom. The caste system, at least in its general form, was introduced, though it appears that even the Brāhmaṇas often adopted various secular professions. The essential elements of Hindu culture were thus thoroughly established in Fu-nan by the sixth century A.D. From this centre they radiated on all sides and this process was facilitated by the conquests of Fan-che-man and other kings.

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BOOK IV

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF KAMBUJA

ALTHOUGH Fu-nan was the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Cambodia and played a great part in spreading Hindu culture in that region, it gradually passed into oblivion after the seventh century A.D., when Kambuja took its place as the leading state and established its supremacy over the whole country. Since that time Kambuja continued its glorious career for nearly seven hundred years till the inevitable decline set in about fourteenth century A.D. But although shorn of power and glory, it still continues to be a political entity as a French Protectorate.

The legendary account of the origin of the kingdom runs as follows :—

> In the dim past Cambodia was a desert of sand and rocks. One day Kambu Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadeśa, found himself in this dreary landscape. The death of his wife Merā, whom the great god Śiva himself gave to him, made him disconsolate and he left his country "in order to die in the wildest desert" he could find. Having reached Cambodia he entered into a grotto. To his horror Kambu found himself in the midst of a large number of huge, many-headed snakes whose piercing eyes were turned towards him. Kambu, however, boldly unsheathed his sword and advanced towards the biggest snake. To the utter amazement of Kambu, the snake spoke in a human voice and asked his where-abouts. On hearing Kambu's story the serpent said : "Your name is unknown to me, stranger, but you spoke of Śiva, and Śiva is my king, as I am the king of the Nāgas, the great snakes. You seem to be courageous too ; therefore abide with us in this land you have chosen and end your grief." Kambu remained, and came to like the Nāgas who could take human shape. Several years later he married the Nāga king's daughter. The king of the Nāgas possessed magic power and turned the arid land into a beautiful country like that of Āryadeśa. Kambu ruled over the land and the kingdom came to be called after him 'Kambuja.'

This story is undoubtedly an echo of the beginning of Hindu colonisation in north-eastern Cambodia, the early seat of the Kambuja kingdom. But whether its early colonists came from Fu-nan on the sea-coast along the Mekong river, or reached this region by overland route through Siam cannot be determined. Nor can we fix the date of the foundation of this Hindu kingdom with

any degree of certainty. Its earliest historical king is Śrutavarman who founded a royal family, but we do not know the name of any other member except his son Śreshṭhavarman. Kambuja was originally a vassal state of Fu-nan, but Śrutavarman or one of his successors threw off the yoke of Fu-nan and established the independence of Kambuja. Śreshṭhapura, the capital of the kingdom, probably named after the second king, was in the immediate neighbourhood of Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos. On the summit of this hill, then called Liṅgaparvata, was a temple of Bhadreśvara Śiva, the tutelary deity of the royal family.

The dynasty of Śrutavarman was followed by that of Bhavavarman who was probably connected with the royal families of both Kambuja and Fu-nan. Bhavavarman became king about the middle of the sixth century A.D. and set up a new capital Bhavapura. Like kings of Fu-nan he claimed descent from Kauṇḍinya, rather than from Kambu. He was a great conqueror and considerably increased the power and extent of the kingdom of Kambuja. His brother Chitrasena, who assumed the name Mahendravarman on ascending the throne, succeeded either Bhavavarman, or the latter's son who had a short reign. Mahendravarman led many military expeditions against the king of Fu-nan who was either Rudravarman, mentioned above, or one of his successors. Unable to resist the growing power of Kambuja the king of Fu-nan fled to the south and ruled over a petty state from a new capital city. Mahendravarman, who thus conquered nearly the whole of the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan, died some time before 616 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Īśānavarman (or Īśānasena). The new king continued the war against Fu-nan and finally subjugated it, probably about 630 A.D. His kingdom comprised the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, and also the valley of the Mun river to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He transferred the capital to a new city called after him Īśānapura which may be identified with Sambor Prei Kuk. Īśānavarman sent an embassy to China in 616 or 617 A.D., and had also probably diplomatic relations with India. His name is also intimately associated with the kingdom of Champā. As noted above (p. 104) Champā was then passing through a series of palace revolutions and political intrigues, and the Kambuja kings, specially Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman, took an active part in its affairs. Mahendravarman sent an ambassador to Champā, and Īśānavarman's daughter Śrī Śarvāṇī was married to Jagaddharma. Some time before 657 A.D. Prakāśadharma, son of Śarvāṇī, became king of Champā and restored order and tranquility. The last known date of Īśānavarman is 627 A.D.

The next two kings of Kambuja known to us are Bhava-

varman II and Jayavarman I. Nothing of importance is known of them, not even their relationship with each other or with the previous kings. They are described as great and powerful in their records, and probably maintained intact the kingdom of Kambuja. Jayavarman is known to have been on the throne from 657 to 674 A.D. and with him ends the royal line founded by Bhavavarman.

For more than a century after the death of Jayavarman I our knowledge of the history of Kambuja is very meagre and confused. According to the Chinese chronicles, Kambuja was divided into two states at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. They call them 'Chen-la (the Chinese name for Kambuja) of the land' and 'Chen-la of the water.' The former probably denotes a kingdom to the north of Cambodia proper, including Laos and parts of Tonkin and Yunnan. This kingdom was a powerful one. It maintained diplomatic relations with China and sent an embassy to the Imperial court in 717 A.D. But five years later it sent military help to an Annamite chief who had rebelled against China, and the combined force defeated the Chinese army. The friendly relations with China were, however, soon restored, and in 753 A.D. the son of the king visited the Chinese court and accompanied the Chinese military expedition against the kingdom of Nan-Chao (Yunnan).

In 771 the king himself paid a visit to the Chinese Emperor. The last embassy was sent to China in 799 A.D. Although details are lacking, we must presume that the Kambuja kingdom of the north, which extended along the middle course of the Mekong, was both extensive and powerful.

By the Chen-la or Kambuja of water the Chinese evidently denoted the kingdom of Cambodia proper. But we have no knowledge of its history during the eighth century. We know the names of a few kingdoms, such as Śambhupura, Aninditapura and Vyādhapura, but with the exception of the first, which may be reasonably identified with Sambor on the Mekong, the location of the others is uncertain. We do not know also whether these kingdoms flourished side by side or one after another. The former seems to be the case as king Puskarāksha, a member of the royal family of Aninditapura, is said to have obtained the kingdom of Śambhupura, probably by marriage. It would then follow that southern Kambuja was divided into a number of states. We also know the names of a few kings, such as Nṛipatīndravarman and his son Puskarāksha, who ruled over Śambhupura, Bālāditya, who ruled over Aninditapura, and Śambhuvarman and Nṛipāditya who probably ruled respectively over these two kingdoms. The names of some other kings are also known, but we have no idea where they ruled.

It would thus appear that there was a political disintegration in Kambuja, in the eighth century A.D. The situation was rendered worse by the growing power of the Śailendras towards the close of that century, and we know definitely that Kambuja was for some time a vassal state of Java. But we possess no details and the whole of the eighth century A.D. is a dark period in the history of Kambuja. The mighty kingdom which Bhavavarman and his successors built up by their conquests had slowly crumbled away, and Kambuja had even ceased to be an independent kingdom.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER III

The Rise of Angkor

The obscurity which envelops the history of Kambuja for more than a century after the death of Jayavarman I is removed with the accession of Jayavarman II at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. With him begins a new era in the history of Kambuja, and we can follow the course of events without a break down to our own days. Jayavarman II figures prominently in the annals of Kambuja and posterity has regarded him almost as a divine hero who was a powerful conqueror and mighty builder. Until recent years modern historians shared this view and gave him credit for building some of the greatest monuments of Kambuja. But recent discoveries have made a great change in our conception of the achievements of the king.

The early life of Jayavarman is not known to us, and we hardly know anything about his family and antecedents. Genealogical accounts of a later age represent his grandmother (mother's mother) as a niece (sister's daughter) of Puskarāksha, ruler of the united kingdoms of Śambhupura and Aninditapura mentioned above, and his queen as a niece (sister's daughter) of king Rudravarman, of whom nothing else is known. One account refers to his maternal uncle as a king. These relationships, even if we accept them as true, are not such as would make him a legitimate heir to the throne. Nor does it appear that he got the kingdom by normal right of succession.

All that we definitely know is that he resided for some time in Java and then returned to Kambuja which was under the domination of Java. He freed his native land from the yoke of Java and invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇyadāma, versed in magic, in order to perform some Tantric rites so that Kambujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java and have a paramount ruler of its own. This Brāhmaṇa, who probably came from India, performed the Tantrik rites and instituted the cult of Devarāja, which henceforth became the state religion. Hiraṇyadāma initiated the royal priest Śivakaivalya into the mysteries of this cult, and the king ordained

that henceforth the royal priest should be chosen exclusively from the members of Śivakaivalya's family. This was followed in practice for at least 250 years, and a remote descendant of Śivakaivalya, who flourished about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., has left a long record of the activities of his family from the time of Jayavarman II when it first came into prominence in connection with the cult of Devarāja. Practically all that we know of Jayavarman II is derived from this record. We are told that the king first fixed his capital at Indrapura, and changed it successively for Kuṭi, Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura. He then fixed his abode on the top of the hill called Mahendraparvata. It was there that the mysterious cult of Devarāja was instituted. Then he returned to Hariharālaya and reigned from this capital till his death. Indrapura was probably in the north-eastern part of Kambuja. Kuṭi has been identified with Bantay Kdei, to the east of Angkor Thom, and Hariharālaya, with Roluos, 13 miles south-east of the latter. Amarendrapura lay far to the west in the district of Battambang, about 100 miles to the north-west of Angkor Thom. Mahendraparvata is identified with the hill called Phnom Kulen, to the north-west of Angkor Thom.

It would thus appear that Jayavarman gradually changed his capital from the eastern to the western corner of Kambuja and finally fixed it in the Angkor region. The reason for these changes is obscure. It has been suggested that the changes were merely due to royal caprice or inspired by a desire to find a suitable site for the capital of the newly founded kingdom. They may also indicate a period of troubles which either forced the king to take refuge, or required his constant presence, in different parts of the country. It is also not impossible that the gradual change of capitals towards the west was due to the invasions by the kingdom of Champā. For we know that some time before 817 A.D. a general of king Harivarman of Champā ravaged Kambuja and advanced up to the very heart of the kingdom.

The names of the successive capitals indicate that Jayavarman II established his sway over the whole of Kambuja. He ascended the throne in 802 A.D. and ruled for more than fifty years. These were eventful years which saw the consolidation of the kingdom of Kambuja and particularly the rise of Angkor region into importance. Unfortunately we do not know any details. But the very fact that for four centuries the kings of Kambuja referred to Jayavarman II as a grand and powerful monarch shows the deep impression that his reign and personality made upon posterity. His memory is still preserved under the legendary name of Ketu Māla, and the folk-tradition of Cambodia ascribes to him all the

grand temples including Angkor Vat. He was really the son of Indra, so we are told, and was taken to heaven by his father. He returned with an architect, who was the son of an Apsarā (heavenly nymph) and had learnt architecture in Indra's court from the Devaputras. He built all the monuments of Kambuja. Jayavarman's name is also associated with the sacred sword which is still preserved in the royal palace and put on by each king at the time of coronation. It is still guarded day and night by a class of persons, said to be descendants of old Brāhmaṇas. It is very likely that Jayavarman II built some notable monuments, as his residence in Java must have made him familiar with massive constructions. Unfortunately no existing monument of any importance can be ascribed to him.

Jayavarman II revived the old tradition of Kambuja as against that of Fu-nan. He traced his origin to Kambu and Sūryavaṁśa and not to Kauṇḍinya and Somavaṁśa. He is referred to as Kambuja-rājendra and guardian of the honour of the solar race of king Kambu. His queen bore the name or epithet Kambuja-rājalakshmī. After him Kambujendra and Kambujeśvara became the official titles of kings and even foreigners refer to the country as Kambuja.

Jayavarman II died in 854 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Jayavardhana, who assumed the name Jayavarman on his accession to the throne. The only thing that we know definitely of him is his inordinate passion for elephant-hunting. He died in 877 A.D. and with him ended the line of Jayavarman II.

Although Jayavarman II and III ruled for less than a century their reigns constitute an important landmark in the history of Kambuja. According to a Chinese chronicle written in 863 A.D., the Khmer kingdom at that time included the whole of Central Indo-China and touched the frontiers of Yunnan in southern China. The Arab writers also describe the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the king of which receives homage of other kings.

Thus the foundations were laid of the great Kambuja empire which was destined one day to comprise nearly the whole of Indo-China. Considering the great reputation of Jayavarman II, as a powerful conqueror, as mentioned above, he may be credited with the greater part of these conquests, but Jayavarman III might have also a large share in this political expansion. It reflects no small credit upon the two kings that they raised the politically disintegrated and the subject kingdom of Kambuja to the status of the most powerful kingdom in Indo-China.

Secondly, the change of capital to the Angkor region was the first step in the process which led to the growth of the famous

capital of Angkor Thom which could vie in grandeur with any imperial capital city that the world had seen before.

Thirdly, the establishment of the cult of Devarāja as the state religion and the predominance given to the family of royal priests by Jayavarman II became a permanent feature of the court-life, and ushered in that strong sacerdotal influence over the polity and social life of Kambuja which so sharply distinguished it from the other Hindu colonies in the Far East.

CHAPTER IV

THE KAMBUJA EMPIRE

1. The Dynasty of Indravarman

Jayavarman III was succeeded by Indravarman who ascended the throne in 877 A.D. The royal genealogy represents him as remotely related to the queen of Jayavarman II. Indravarman's queen, Indradevī, is also said to be descended through her father and mother, from two royal families, one of Vyādhapura, mentioned above, and the other founded by Agastya, a Brāhmaṇa from Āryadeśa *i.e.* India. In spite of the labours of the royal genealogists, it is difficult to hold that Indravarman was the legitimate heir to Jayavarman III. We do not know the means by which he secured the throne, but it may be taken for granted that he did not rebel against the ruling family. For his inscriptions and those of his successors refer to Jayavarman II and III with respect, and he appointed as his *guru* (*preceptor*) the grandson of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II.

Indravarman claims in his record that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of Chīna, Champā and Yavadvīpa. We have no means of verifying how far these claims were justified.

Indravarman was a great builder. We are told in one of his records, that immediately after ascending the throne he took a vow that within five days he would begin the work of construction. He built many temples, set up images of gods therein, and excavated big tanks. His temples belong to a type of architecture which has been styled the art of Indravarman.

Indravarman was succeeded by Yaśovardhana who ascended the throne under the name Yaśovarman in 889 A.D. He is said to have been educated by Vāmaśiva, the grand-nephew of Śiva-kaivalya, and mastered various *śāstras* and *kāvyas*. We possess a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to his reign, some of which are quite long and written in a high-flown *kāvya* style. They indicate that Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, was highly patronised in his court. In one of these records the

king is compared to the grammarian Pāṇini and is said to have composed a commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāshya. He built a large number of temples and *āśramas* and some of his records give detailed regulations for the inmates of the monastic establishments which throw interesting light on the religious and social life of Kambuja, perfectly modelled on Hindu ideals.

The king also distinguished himself by his military campaigns both by land and sea, and is said to have reinstated many vanquished kings and married their daughters. In spite of his preoccupations with religious and literary activities he maintained his hold over the vast empire inherited by him.

Yaśovarman transferred the capital to a new city founded by him which was at first called Kambupurī and later Yaśodharapura. The royal citadel was on the summit of the hill called Yaśodharagiri which is undoubtedly the hill now known as Phnom Bakhen, just outside the southern enclosure of Angkor Thom. For a long time it was believed that this famous city represented the new capital of Yaśovarman. But although this view has proved to be wrong, there is no doubt that a large part of Angkor Thom was included within the extensive enclosure of Yaśodharapura which spread on all sides round the Phnom Bakhen. The region round the newly founded capital city of Yaśovarman remained the seat of Kambuja empire throughout the period of its greatness, and he may thus be credited with the foundation of the Angkor civilisation which forms the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kambuja. Of all the kings of Kambuja Yaśovarman appeals to us most by his personality and achievements, and he must be regarded as a great king in every sense of the term. Perhaps the court-poet did not exaggerate very much when he said that the glory of Yaśovarman was sung, even after his death, by the people " in their games, on their beds and in their travels."

Yaśovarman died about 908 A.D. and his two sons Harshavarman I and Īśānavarman II ascended the throne one after another. But Jayavarman IV, the husband of a sister of Yaśovarman, rebelled against Īśānavarman II and set up as an independent king, sometime before 921 A.D., even before the death of the latter. For seven years the kingdom was partitioned between the two, and it was not till the death of Īśānavarman II, about 928 A.D. that Jayavarman IV reigned as the sole monarch of Kambuja.

Jayavarman IV had from the very beginning removed the capital to Koh Ker, situated in a wild barren country about 50 miles north-east of Angkor. Even after the death of Īśānavarman II Koh Ker continued to be the capital of Kambuja, and it was adorned by temples, artificial lakes and other monuments by

Jayavarman IV. He died in 941 or 942 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Harshavarman II. His reign was short and uneventful and on his death in 944 A.D. the throne passed to his elder cousin Rājendravarman, the son of a younger sister of Yaśovarman. Rājendravarman probably seized the throne by violent means, though we have no definite evidence about this. Rājendravarman re-transferred the capital to Yaśodharapura, and embellished the city which was deserted for nearly a quarter of a century. We possess a large number of inscriptions containing very long eulogies of the king, but they do not supply much historical information. He is credited with victorious campaigns in all directions,—north, south, east and west—but no details are given. These were probably no mere empty boasts. For we know that he invaded Champā and gained some success.

Rājendravarman died in 969 A.D. and his son Jayavarman V ascended the throne. He continued the aggressive policy against Champā with equal success. His reign was marked by a predominance of Buddhism. Although the official religion was Śaivism as before, the king issued instructions and regulations for the propagation of Buddhist doctrines. The king also erected some notable monuments such as Hemaśriṅgagiri, but its identification is uncertain. Jayavarman V died in 1001 A.D.

The period of a century and a quarter (877-1001 A.D.) covered by the reigns of Indravarman and his seven successors constitutes an important landmark in the growth of Kambuja empire. The Chinese history gives us a detailed picture of the political condition of Indo-China about 960 A.D., and we find in it a definite evidence of the consolidation and extension of the political power of Kambuja. In the north its hold over the whole of Laos right up to Southern China and the Chinese province of Tonkin was secured by the foundation of strongholds and new vassal states. The records of this dynasty refer to China as the boundary of Kambuja, and Indravarman even claims some sort of supremacy over China. The reference, here, is probably not to China proper, but the Thai kingdom in Yunnan in south China. It is very likely that the Kambuja kings gained some success at the cost of this kingdom. The Kambuja authority was also extended to Siam. The country of Lavapurī (Lopburi), comprising the tract between the Gulf of Siam in the south and Kampheng Phet on the north, formed an integral part of the Kambuja empire. The Kambuja kings, however, also exercised political influence over the petty principalities lying to its north. The name Khmera-rāshṭra, borne by the northernmost of these states, recalls the suzerainty of Kambuja almost throughout the Menam valley. The Kambujas also established

their suzerainty over the northern part of Malay Peninsula up to the isthmus of Kra.

2. SŪRYAVARMAN I AND II

The death of Jayavarman V was followed by a disputed succession and civil war lasting for ten years. None of the three claimants Udayādityavarman, Sūryavarman and Jayavīravarman seems to have any legitimate claim to the throne, but each proclaimed himself king, and seems to have actually ruled in some part of the kingdom. Udayādityavarman was eliminated early, but the struggle between the other two continued till about 1010 A.D., when Sūryavarman established his undisputed authority over the whole kingdom.

The antecedents of Sūryavarman I are not definitely known. According to official genealogy he was born in the family of Indravarman, and his queen Vīralakshmī was born of the royal line of Yaśovarman. Other connections with old royal families are also mentioned, but none gives him a clear title to the throne. On the other hand, according to some later chronicles preserved in Siam, he was the son of a ruling chief in north Malay Peninsula, conquered the lower Menam valley with Lopburi, and then seized the kingdom of Cambodia. Whatever that may be, there is no doubt that there was a prolonged civil war in the early part of his reign and he had to engage in many wars. To safeguard his position and prevent future revolts the king instituted a novel system. He made the district officers, more than four thousand in number, take an oath in the presence of the sacred fire, the Brāhmanas and the *āchāryas*, offering unswerving and lifelong homage and allegiance to the king and dedicating their lives to his service. These officers solemnly swore that they "shall not honour any other king, shall never be hostile to this king, and shall not be the accomplices of any enemy." It is interesting to note that almost an identical oath is taken by the royal officials of Cambodia even to-day on the occasion of the royal coronation.

Sūryavarman I seems to have established the authority of Kambuja over North Siam on a firm foundation and appointed Kambuja chiefs to rule over the population. From this time Khmer art and culture were firmly implanted in the Menam valley, and Khmer civilisation spread over the north as far as Sukhothai and Savankalok. There are reasons to believe that Sūryavarman overran the whole of Siam and even invaded Lower Burma. But we have no knowledge of the details of the campaign or its results.

Sūryavarman I excelled equally in arts of war and peace. He was versed in *Bhāshyas, kāvya,* six philosophical systems and Dharmaśāstras. He was an ardent follower of Buddhism, but did not give up the official religion and constructed both Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples. He issued edicts containing regulation about monasteries in which it was laid down that the ascetics and Buddhist monks should offer to the king the merits of their piety.

On the death of Sūryavarman in A.D. 1049, his ministers placed Udayādityavarman II on the throne. This shows that the latter had no legitimate right to the throne, but owed his succession to the influence of a party in Court. That perhaps explains the series of revolutions that harassed the king throughout his reign. A record gives us a graphic description of three of these rebellious outbreaks and their suppression by the commander-in-chief Saṅgrāma, who was richly rewarded by the grateful king for his loyalty and devotion. The kingdom also suffered much from the invasions of the Chams. The Cham general Yuvarāja Mahāsenāpati defeated the Kambuja forces, took the town of Śambhupura on the Mekong, and destroyed all its sanctuaries.

The king seems to have been an accomplished scholar. The royal priest Jayendrapaṇḍita taught him astronomy, mathematics, grammar, Dharmaśāstra and all the other *śāstras*. The king had also another *guru* named Śaṅkarapaṇḍita. We are told that in imitation of the golden mountain of Jambudvīpa (India) where dwell the gods, he had a golden mountain built in the capital city and consecrated a Śiva-liṅga in a golden temple on the summit of the mountain. Śaṅkarapaṇḍita evidently wielded a great influence in the court. For we are told that when Udayādityavarman died in 1066 A.D. Śaṅkarapaṇḍita, along with his ministers, placed his younger brother Harshavarman on the throne.

Harshavarman III was involved in wars with his two powerful neighbours in the east, Annam and Champā. The former comprised Tonkin and the two northern districts of modern Annam and had thrown off the Chinese yoke in the 10th century A.D. In 1076 A.D. the Chinese emperor, having decided upon an expedition against Annam, invited the rulers of Champā and Kambuja to help him. They sent military expeditions which retreated after the defeat of the Chinese. Not long after this hostility broke out between the kings of Kambuja and Champā. A great battle took place at Someśvara, some time before 1080 A.D. The Kambuja forces were defeated and their general, prince Śrī-Nandanavarmadeva, was captured.

The foreign expeditions, ending in defeat and disaster, reacted upon home politics, and a civil war broke out in Kambuja.

Although Harshavarman III continued to rule till at least 1089 A.D., Jayavarman VI set up as a king in A.D. 1082 in the north and north-eastern parts of the kingdom. Jayavarman VI died in 1107 A.D. and was succeeded by his elder brother Dharaṇīndravarman I. The latter was defeated by Sūryavarman II, the daughter's son of his sister, who ascended the throne in 1113 A.D.

Sūryavarman II proved to be one of the greatest kings of Kambuja. He once more established the unity of the kingdom by defeating the rival king, probably a descendant of Harshavarman III. He resumed diplomatic relations with China which had been interrupted since 8th century A.D., and sent two embassies to the Imperial Court in 1117 and 1121 A.D. The Chinese emperor conferred high titles on the Kambuja king whose dominions are said to have included Lower Burma and the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese give grandiloquent description of the royal tower, and mention that the king maintained 200,000 war elephants.

Under the inspiration of his *guru* Divākarapaṇḍita Sūryavarman performed *koṭihoma, lakshahoma,* the *Mahāhoma* and various other sacrifices. He was a devotee of Vishṇu and has earned undying fame by constructing the famous Angkor Vat, one of the veritable wonders of the world. This magnificent monument of massive grandeur, which will be described later, was consecrated to god Vishṇu, and its bas-reliefs represent the king and his court, his victorious campaigns, hunting scenes, *etc.*

The Kambuja inscriptions refer in rapturous terms to the victories of Sūryavarman and his triumph over hostile kings. We are also told that the kings of other islands whom he wanted to conquer voluntarily submitted to him.

The king's expeditions against Annam and Champā however proved disastrous. He sent an army and fleet against Annam in 1128, but in spite of initial successes they were forced to beat retreat. Two more expeditions, in 1132 and 1137, proved equally unsuccessful.

Sūryavarman had at first greater success in Champā and reduced its northern part, the kingdom of Vijaya, almost to a vassal state of Kambuja. But Jaya Harivarman, the new king of southern Champā, defeated the Kambuja troops and brought the whole kingdom under his authority, as has already been mentioned above (Bk. III, Ch. V).

The last known date of Sūryavarman II is 1145 A.D., though he probably ruled for some years more. He was succeeded by Dharaṇīndravarman II, of whom we know nothing. The next king Yaśovarman II was faced with a rebellion. Evidently the rebellion assumed at one time serious proportions, for we are told that the rebels attacked even the palace, and the royalist troops in the

capital took to flight. Prince Śrīndrakumāra, son of the future king Jayavarman VII, came to the rescue of the king. He himself fought in person with the rebels and defeated them.

It is in connection with this fight that we come across the term Sanjak, which presumably means a chief bound by a special oath or obligation to defend the person of the king or a prince. When Śrīndrakumāra came out to fight with the rebels, his body was covered by two Sanjaks, who were killed before his very eyes. The king showed appreciation of their service in a befitting manner. Posthumous honours were bestowed on them and their statues were istalled in shrines. The fact that the inscriptions refer to these statues as gods shows that they were deified like kings. Needless to add that the king bestowed wealth, favours and honours on the members of their families.

The rebellion did not seriously affect the solidarity of the kingdom. For Yaśovarman felt powerful enough to send an expedition against the kingdom of Champā, led by the same prince Śrīndrakumāra. At first his enterprise proved successful. He seized the fort which Jaya Indravarman, king of Champā, had built on Mount Vek, and placed a Cham general on the throne of that kingdom. But the re-organised Cham troops caught Śrīndrakumāra in an ambush and surrounded him. On this occasion, too, he owed his life to the deliberate self-sacrifice of two of his Sanjaks who gave their lives in defending his person. As on the previous occasion, the king conferred posthumous honours on the two heroes and installed their statues in a shrine. Though the prince safely returned with his army to his kingdom, the whole expedition was an ignominious failure.

The prince Śrīndrakumāra died while young and his statue was also placed in the same shrine where those of his four faithful Sanjaks were installed.

The war with Champā, however, continued, and another expedition was sent to Vijaya (Central Champā) under the future king Jayavarman VII. About this time, and evidently taking advantage of the absence of royal troops in Champā, another rebellion took place in Kambuja, headed by Tribhuvanādityavarman. As soon as he heard of this outbreak, Jayavarman returned with his troops to Kambuja, but he was too late. For Yaśovarman II had been already defeated and killed, and Tribhuvanādityavarman ascended the throne of Kambuja. This took place before 1166 A.D.

The new king of Kambuja was involved in a prolonged fight with Champā, with disastrous consequences. Jaya Indravarman, king of Champā, invaded Kambuja about 1170 A.D., and the war went on for seven years without any decisive result. At last the

Cham king equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedition in 1177 A.D. The fleet sailed up the Mekong river and reached the capital city, and Jaya Indravarman plundered the capital and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him. According to the Kambuja inscription, Tribhuvanāditvavarman was killed in this fight, but Kambuja was saved by the heroism of Jayavarman. He defeated the Chams in a naval engagement, and made himself master of the kingdom of Kambuja four years later.

3. JAYAVARMAN VII, THE GRAND MONARCH

With the accession of Jayavarman VII in A.D. 1181 we are again on the firm ground. He was the last great king of Kambuja and we know a great deal about him, his military campaigns, his religious foundations and his works of public utility.

As regards the first he attained conspicuous success in his wars with Champā, the eternal enemy of Kambuja. As already noted above (Bk. III, Ch. V), he invaded Champā, dethroned its prince, and put one of his own men in his place, and for long Champā remained a vassal state of Kambuja.

Jayavarman VII was also involved in war with the old enemy, the Annamites. He invaded Annam and a series of battles followed, between 1207 and 1218 A.D., without leading to any decisive result. It is interesting to note that the Kambuja army fighting in Annam not only included Cham soldiers but also contingents from Siam and Pugan *i.e.,* Burma.

Although Jayavarman VII commanded resources of an extensive empire, the long-drawn battles with Annam and Champā since 1190 A.D. must have exhausted the kingdom and proved too great a burden for the people. To make matters worse the Thais in Siam were fast gathering strength and proving a source of alarm and anxiety. So at last the Kambujas evacuated Champā in 1220 A.D. and concluded a peace with her two years later. It is not definitely known whether Jayavarman VII was still alive when this final withdrawal took place, for we do not know even approximately the year of his death. But in any case, the credit of conquering Champā belongs to him. This brilliant triumph at the end of an age-long struggle extended the frontier of his empire to the China Sea on the east. Jayavarman VII was also successful in his military enterprise on the west and conquered a considerable portion of Lower Burma. Thus the Kambuja empire reached its greatest extent during his reign and embraced the whole of Indo-

China with the exception of Upper Burma, Tonkin and the southern part of Malay Peninsula.

Jayavarman VII planned a new capital city worthy of his great empire. This is the famous Angkor Thom (*Nagara-dhāma ?*) (Pl. XVII). The town was surrounded by a high stone wall with a ditch beyond it 110 yds. wide. The ditch, like the wall, has a total length of nearly 8½ miles and its sides are paved with enormous blocks of stone. The enclosing wall was pierced by five huge gates which gave access to the city by means of five grand avenues each 100 ft. wide and running straight from one end of the town to the other. Each gateway consisted of a huge arched opening more than 30 ft. high and 15 ft. wide, surmounted by figures of four human heads placed back to back. The town was square in shape, each side measuring about two miles. The grand avenues converge to the Temple of Bayon which occupies almost the central position of the city, and is justly regarded as a masterpiece of Kambuja architecture (Pl. XVIII). To the north of Bayon is a great public square, a sort of forum, about 765 yds. long and 165 yds. wide, surrounded by famous structures such as the Baphuon, the Phimeanakas, the Terrace of Honour etc., each of which forms a splendid monument by itself

The religious foundations and works of public utility undertaken by Jayavarman VII were also on a scale befitting the mighty empire over which he ruled. The account of royal donations engraved in a temple makes interesting reading, and reveals the magnitude of his resources and depth of religious sentiments. It is not possible here to record all the details but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 persons were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 Professsors, and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1409 whose food and other daily necessaries of life were supplied. There were altogether 566 groups of stone houses and 288 groups of brick. Needless to say that the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion, and included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. The inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 *khārikās* of rice, each *khārikā* being equivalent to 3 *mds.* 8 *srs.* Jayavarman VII also established 121 *Vahni-grihas* which were travellers' rest-houses like the *dharamśālās* of the present day. They were set up along the principal highways of the kingdom for the convenience of pilgrims.

4. DECLINE AND DOWNFALL

We possess very little definite knowledge of the history of Kambuja during the century following the death of Jayavarman VII. He was succeeded by Indravarman II who died in 1243 A.D. The next king known to us is Jayavarman VIII who abdicated the throne in 1295-6 A.D. in favour of his son-in-law Śrīndravarman. Jayavarman's son, who contested the throne, was defeated. Śrīndravarman, after having mutilated and imprisoned him, ascended the throne in 1296. Some time before this the great Mongol chief Kublai Khan had made himself master of China and asked the rulers of various kingdoms in Indo-China to acknowledge his suzerainty. But the Kambuja rulers refused to submit. In 1296 A.D. a Chinese embassy came to Angkor Thom, and Cheu-ta-kuan, who accompanied it, has left a detailed account of the manners and customs of the people. Śrīndravarman abdicated the throne in 1308 in favour of Śrīndra-Jayavarman who was related to him. The latter was probably succeeded by Jayavarma-Parameśvara. He ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. and is the last king known from inscriptions, so far discovered in Kambuja.

The subsequent history of Kambuja is only recorded in chronicles which were composed at a very late period and are very unreliable. It is, however, possible to trace the general course of events which led to the decline and downfall of the Kambuja Empire. It appears that the Thais in the northern and western parts of the empire were organised under able military leaders and openly broke into revolt in Siam in the thirteenth century A.D. A Thai chief Indrāditya founded an independent kingdom with Sukhodaya as capital some time about 1250 A.D. After the conquest of the Thai principality in Yunnan by the great Mongol chief Kublai Khan in 1254, the newly founded Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya and other Thai principalities in Siam received a tremendous wave of Thai immigrants who fled from Yunnan. Ram Kamheng, the famous Thai king of Sukhodaya towards the close of the 13th century, was a great conqueror. He carried his arms to Lower Burma on the west and to the heart of Kambuja on the east. Cheu-ta-kuan, who visited Kambuja shortly after, mentions that in the recent wars with the Siamese the region round Angkor was utterly devastated. But it is clear from the Chinese memoir that Kambuja was still a mighty kingdom and that Ram Kamheng's invasion was more of the nature of a predatory raid than a regular conquest. The Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya came to an end soon after, and a new Thai dynasty, which founded the kingdom of Ayodhyā (Ayuthia) about 1350 A.D., soon made itself the master of nearly the whole of Siam

and Laos. On the east of Kambuja the Annamites gradually conquered nearly the whole of the kingdom of Champā by the fifteenth century. Kambuja was now hard pressed by these two important Thai powers on two sides, who steadily encroached upon its territory. This simultaneous pressure from the two flanks proved the ruin of Kambuja. Its weak and helpless rulers tried to save themselves by playing off their two powerful enemies against each other, but with disastrous consequences to themselves. For centuries Kambuja remained the victim of her two pitiless aggressive neighbours. At last, shorn of power and prestige, Ang Duong, the king of Kambuja, now reduced to a petty state, threw himself under the protection of the French in 1854, and thus the once mighty kingdom of Kambuja became, as it still is, a petty French Protectorate.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER V

THE HINDU CULTURE IN KAMBUJA

THE Hindu colonists of Kambuja set up a highly organised system of administration on Indian model. The Arthaśāstras or Sanskrit Texts on political science, like those of Kauṭilya, were regularly studied and mostly followed in practice.

The king's authority was supreme and a divine origin was claimed for him. He was served by ministers and a hierarchy of officers, both civil and military. A long list of these officers is given in the inscriptions, but it is not always easy to define their status and function. The Chinese refer to the pomp, splendour and elaborate ceremonials of the Court. As in India, the posts of ministers and other high offices were often hereditary.

The kingdom was divided into a large number of districts each under a governor with his headquarters in a city. There were many towns, with Indian names, such as Tāmrapura, Āḍhyapura Dhruvapura, Jyeshṭhapura, Vikramapura, Ugrapura *etc.* Many towns were named after their royal founders *e.g.* Śreshṭhapura, Bhavapura, Īśānapura etc.

The towns were surrounded by walls and ditches and had big tanks. Many of them had useful public institutions like *Vipraśālā* (learned assembly ?), *Sarasvatī* (public school), *Pustakāśrama* (Library), *Satra* (guest house), and Ārogya-śālā (hospital). *Vahni-gṛihas* (*Dharamśālās*) were set up on all principal roads for the convenience of travellers.

The Puranic form of Hindu religion had a strong hold on Kambuja, and Buddhism, comparatively speaking, exercised less influence, except occasionally under kings and ministers who professed that religion. Śaivism was the most dominant form of religion, though worship of Vishṇu was also very popular. The composite god Śiva-Vishṇu, under various names, was also in great favour. The entire Hindu pantheon of Puranic deities was known in Kambuja, and we meet with the Hindu gods in their innumerable names and forms known in India. Even the mystic philosophy of Upanishads and the magical Tantrik rites were not absent. Indeed the Hindu

religion, in all its aspects, appears on the soil of Kambuja to such an extent, that to describe it in details would be to recount at length the religious history of India. The study of the Indian Śāstras (sacred scriptures) supplied the basis of the religion, and inscriptions frequently refer to Brāhmaṇas proficient in Veda, Vedāṅga, Sāmaveda and Buddhist scriptures, and kings and ministers possessing a profound knowledge of the Dharmaśāstra. Arrangements were made for the daily recitation of Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, and it was considered a pious act to present copies of these texts to temples. The secular literature was also regularly studied. Inscriptions, earlier than ninth century A.D., refer to many of its branches such as Śabda, Vaiśeshika, Nyāya, Samīksha, and Artha-śāstra. Sanskrit Kāvya was a favourite subject of study.

But the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. saw the highest development of Sanskrit literature in Kambuja. This may be clearly deduced from the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions belonging to this period. These are composed in beautiful and almost flawless *kāvya* style, and some of them run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of Yaśovarman contain respectively 50,75,93 and 108 verses each, and there are many containing less than fifty. An inscription of Rājendravarman contains 218 and another 298 verses.

The authors of these inscriptions have very successfully used almost all the Sanskrit metres, and exhibit a thorough acquaintance with the most developed rules and conventions of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody. Besides, they show an intimate knowledge of the Indian Epics, *Kāvyas*, Purāṇas, and other branches of literature, and a deep penetrating insight into Indian philosophical and spiritual ideas; they are also saturated with the religious and mythological conceptions of the different sects of India,—all this to an extent which may be justly regarded as marvellous in a community separated from India by thousands of miles. They were thoroughly conversant with the grammatical treatise of Pāṇini. The Mahābhāshya was studied, and according to an inscription of Yaśovarman, the king himself composed a commentary on it. A minister of the king was an expert in Horāśāstra. Manu is mentioned as a legislator and a verse from Manu-Smṛiti is reproduced *verbatim*. Reference is also made to Vātsyāyana, as the author of Kāmasūtra, and Viśālāksha as having composed a treatise on Nīti. The famous medical treatise of Suśruta is also mentioned.

The Pre-Rup Inscription contains no less than four verses which are distinct echoes of four verses from Raghuvaṁśa, repeating sometimes the very words used by the great poet. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman refer to Pravarasena and Mayūra as the authors of *Setubandha* and *Sūryaśataka*, and to Guṇāḍhya as a writer in

Prākṛit with allusion to the legend about him contained in *Kathāsarit-sāgara.* The records frequently refer to the Trayī or Vedas, the Vedānta, Smṛiti, the sacred canon of the Buddhists and Jainas, and religious texts of various Brahmanical sects and schools of philosophy. As to the Puranic religion and mythology, legends contained in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa, and the allusion, alliteration, simile *etc.,* usually met with in Sanskrit literature, one will meet with them at every step as he proceeds through these inscriptions.

Although we have no Sanskrit texts composed during this period these inscriptions bear ample testimony to the highly flourishing state of Sanskrit literature in Kambuja during this period.

But apart from their literary merit these inscriptions are invaluable as testifying to the thoroughness with which Indian culture and civilisation, in all its aspects, was imbibed in Kambuja. This is particularly applicable to the religious and spiritual life. The inscriptions give evidence of the minute knowledge of the rules, regulations and practices of religion, particularly of the Śaiva and Vaishṇava sects, and show a thorough acquaintance not only with the various gods and goddesses in their numerous names and forms, but also with the philosophical conceptions lying behind them. The prominent place occupied by religion in the life of the people is also demonstrated by the large number of temples and images erected and installed by kings and others. Most of the inscriptions refer to these pious foundations, and ruins of many of them are now lying scattered all over the country. But what strikes one more is that we find in Kambuja not only the external forms of Indian religion but that ethical and spiritual view of life which was the most distinguishing feature of ancient Indian civilisation. Anyone who carefully studies the inscriptions of Kambuja cannot fail to be struck with the spirit of piety and renunciation, a deep yearning for emancipation from the trammels of birth and evils of the world, and a longing for the attainment of the highest bliss by union with Brahma, which formed the keynote of their life and is expressed with beauty and elegance in language at once sombre and sincere.

Even the kings, high officials and the nobility of the kingdom were inspired by these high ideals. One of the interesting characteristics of the Kambuja court-life is the very intimate association between the secular and spiritual heads. The kings received their instruction in early life from eminent religious *āchāryas,* and there are many instances where sons of kings and members of the royal family became high priests and *āchāryas.* The inter-marriage between the royal and priestly families was also a matter of frequent

occurrence. The predominance of the priestly families who supplied royal priests for successive generations, such as that of Śivakaivalya already referred to above, is both an index and a cause of the spiritual outlook of the king and the people. The tutelary deity of the kingdom with the cult of Devarāja, placed in charge of a long line of High Priests who were the *gurus* or preceptors of the kings, must have helped to a great extent in moulding the whole view of life in the kingdom.

But while all these causes undoubtedly operated in developing the religious and spiritual life of the people, its main source must have been a close, constant and intimate contact with India. Fortunately this is not merely a hypothesis but may be proved by definite examples recorded in inscriptions of Kambuja. Rājalakshmī, the daughter of Rājendravarman, and the younger sister of Jayavarman V, was married to a Brahmin Divākara Bhaṭṭa who was born on the bank of the river Kālindī sacred with the association of Kṛishna's boyhood. One of the ancestors of Yaśovarman's mother is said to be a Brāhmaṇa of Āryyadeśa versed in Vedas and Vedāṅgas. Another Brāhmaṇa named Sravajñamuni, versed in the four Vedas and all the *āgamas,* devoted to Śiva, and born in Āryadeśa, came to Kambujadeśa, and his descendants occupied high religious offices. There is also evidence that the learned Brāhmaṇas of Kambuja visited India. The most important instance is that of Śivasoma, the *guru* of Indravarman. We learn from an inscription that Śivasoma was the grandson of king Śrī Jayendrādhipativarman, maternal uncle of Jayavarman II, and learnt the Śāstras from Bhagavat-Śaṅkara whose lotus feet were touched by the heads of all the sages. It has been rightly conjectured by the editor of the inscription that the reference here is undoubtedly to the famous Śaṅkarāchārya, and presumably Śivasoma must have come to India to sit at the feet of the venerable Śaṅkara. It may be noted in passing that as Indravarman lived towards the close of the ninth century A.D., Śivasoma must have flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. which agrees with the date generally assumed for Śaṅkarāchārya.

The visit of Kambuja scholars to India may also be presumed on indirect evidence. M. Coedès, while editing the Vat Thipedi Inscription, has pointed out that it exhibits all the characteristics of the Gauḍa style, described by Sanskrit rhetoricians, in such a striking manner that its author must have either been born in Gauḍa or lived in that region.

Though we can cite only a few actual instances of the learned Brāhmaṇas of India, versed in sacred scriptures, settling in Kambujadeśa, and the learned priests of the latter country visiting India,

they corroborate what may be regarded as the only reasonable hypothesis which offers a satisfactory explanation of the thoroughness with which literary, religious and spiritual culture of India was imbibed by the people of Kambuja.

It appears from the Kambuja inscriptions that the centres of Indian culture in Kambuja, from which it radiated all over the country, were the large number of *āśramas* which were founded by royal munificence and private efforts. These *āśramas* were homes of pious devotees who consecrated their lives to study and meditation. They were constructed by the generous donations of kings and people who made endowments to provide for all their necessaries. King Yaśovarman alone is said to have founded one hundred *āśramas* in all parts of his kingdom. Whatever we might think of this number there is no doubt that there was quite a large number of them in Kambuja and they formed a characteristic feature of her religious and social life. Detailed and definite regulations issued by the king for the conduct of these *āśramas* are found in many records. These throw very interesting light on the actual working of these institutions, and exhibit the high moral and spiritual ideal and the thoroughly humanitarian spirit which guided their activities. They remind us of the hermitages in ancient India which exercised such a profound influence over the lives of all—from the highest to the lowest in state and society. Many of the Brāhamaṇa sages who were the leading spirits in these *āśramas* obtained a dominant position in state and society and we possess elaborate and lengthy records of quite a large number of such eminent families.

We do not find in Kambuja any literary development akin to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature. But with this exception Kambuja may be regarded as having imbibed Indian culture and civilisation to a much fuller degree than any other colony. In one respect, however, *viz.* art, Kambuja may even be said to have surpassed the motherland.

The monuments and sculptures of Kambuja fall readily into two broad divisions, the primitive and the classic. The latter is associated with Angkor, and dates from about the 10th century. The primitive art begins from the age of Fu-nan and is continued by the early rulers of Kambuja which took its place in the 7th century A.D. As most of the monuments of the early period were made of perishable materials like wood or brick, there are not enough remains to reconstruct the art of Fu-nan. The temples, mostly of brick, consisted of a square or rectangular cella, with plain walls surmounted by a roof which consisted of a number of gradually receding stages. This is a characteristic of the Gupta art. The affinity with the Gupta art is more evident in the sculptures.

In recent years a number of sculptures have been discovered in Siam and Cambodia whose style is surprisingly akin to that of the Gupta art. There is, therefore, no doubt that the primitive art of Kambuja was a direct product of the Indian school. Indeed Groslier has even advanced the theory that the original Indian colonists brought with them artists and craftsmen from India and they were entrusted with the task of building temples and images of Gods. In short the scholars are agreed in their view that the art of Fu-nan was purely Indian and through Fu-nan this Indian Art of the Gupta age spread over a wide territory in Indo-China along with other phases of Indian culture.

This primitive art of Fu-nan was developed, by natural stages of evolution, to what may be called the classical art of Kambuja, the best specimens of which are in the region of Angkor and its neighbourhood, though some are found even in distant places like Bantay Chmar. These monuments, both by their massive character and unparalleled grandeur, furnish undying testimony to the richness and splendour of a civilisation of which the written records form but an imperfect picture.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of most of the monuments and there is thus considerable difficulty in tracing the stages of evolution of Kambuja art. The old ideas about their chronology have recently undergone a radical change, but we can assign approximate dates, with a tolerable degree of certainty, to some of them.

The most famous of the monuments of Kambuja, *viz.* Angkor Vat was built by king Sūryavarman II, who ruled between 1113 and 1145 A.D. The Baphuon, another noble monument, was formerly referred to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. but is now referred to the reign of Udayādityavarman II (1049-1066 A.D.). The famous Angkor Thom, with its gate-towers, ramparts and ditches, and the Temple of Bayon in the centre of the city were formerly attributed to Yaśovarman (889-908 A.D.) but are now believed by some to be the work of Jayavarman VII, who ascended the throne in the year 1181 A.D. Another famous monument, that of Bantay Chmar, which was formerly attributed to Jayavarman II (9th century), is also referred by some to Jayavarman VII, and by others to Yaśovarman II (1160-1180 A.D.). In short, whereas the majority of the splendid monuments of Kambuja were formerly placed in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. their date is now pushed forward by nearly two hundred years, and instead of Jayavarman II and Yaśovarman I, the four successive kings Sūryavarman II, Dharaṇīndravarman II, Yaśovarman II and Jayavarman VII, whose reigns practically cover the whole of the twelfth century A.D.,

appear to be the great builders of Kambuja monuments. We must therefore give up the old idea that the twelfth century was a period of decay in the history of Kambuja, and rather regard it as a period of the greatest glory of Kambuja.

It is not possible to give such a detailed description, even of the most famous monuments of Kambuja, as would convey a fair idea of their nature and artistic excellence. I would, therefore, merely attempt to indicate, in a general way, the special features which characterise them. The earlier series of monuments at Angkor consists of isolated temples which show great resemblance with Indian temples. But gradually a new style is evolved in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., first by the introduction of gallery, and later still by pyramidal construction in several stages. The combination of these two features results in a series of concentric galleries, enclosing each successive stage of the pyramid, with a crowning tower at the centre of the top or the highest stage. Similar towers are added at the four corners of each stage of the pyramid, and finally we have the *gopurams* at one or all the four faces, each consisting of a gateway with a vestibule, surmounted by an ornamental tower in the form of a stepped pyramid as we see in South India. The central and corner towers are of the North-Indian or Śikhara style. The best and the complete example of this type is Angkor Vat. An innovation is introduced in Bayon, where the towers are capped by four heads facing the four directions.

The gallery, referred to above, is, in its final shape, a long narrow running chamber with vaulted roof supported by a wall on one side and a series of pillars on the other. It has a *verandah* with a half-vaulted roof of lower height supported by columns of smaller dimensions. The walls of these galleries are generally covered with continuous friezes of bas-reliefs and other sculptures.

The wide ditches surrounding the temples and cities, with paved causeways over them, form an important feature of construction, and the figures of long rows of giants pulling the body of a serpent, which serve as the balustrades of the causeway on its two sides, are justly regarded as one of the most ingenious and interesting architectural devices to be seen anywhere in the world.

An idea of the massive character of these monuments may be had from the measurements of Angkor Vat (Pl. XVI). The moat or ditch surrounding the temple and running close to its boundry walls is more than 650 ft. wide which is spanned on the western-side by a stone causeway, 36 ft. broad. This ditch, like the wall of enclosure, which completely surrounds the temple, has a total length of two miles and a half. The broad paved avenue which runs from the western gateway to the first gallery is 1560 ft. long and raised 7 ft.

above the ground. The first gallery measures about 800 ft. from east to west and 675 ft. from north to south, with a total running length of nearly 3000 ft. The central tower, on the third or highest stage, rises to a height of more than 210 ft. above the ground level.

These few details would serve to convey an idea of the massive character of Kambuja architecture. But it is not by the massive form alone that they appeal to us. Their fine proportions, the general symmetry of the plan, and above all the decorative sculptures invest them with a peculiar grandeur.

The sculptures in Kambuja, both bas-reliefs and figures in the round, attained to a high level of excellence. Here, again, we find that while the earlier sculptures show a close affinity with Indian models, specially Gupta art, new elements are added in course of time which give a distinctive character to Kambuja sculpture. The peculiar smiling countenance, with half-closed eyes, of divine figures, known as 'the smile of Angkor,' has been variously interpreted, and opinions differ on its aesthetic values. It has been suggested that this unchanging and elusive smile, which mysteriously reflects the illumination of inward *nirvāṇa* and expresses supreme Buddhist beatitude, is the most notable contribution of Khmer art. But this smile of Angkor is not confined to Buddhist heads alone, as is generally supposed. It appears in Brahmanical images and should therefore be regarded as a divine expression rather than anything peculiarly Buddhist. Although the figures often show traces of Khmer physiognomy, some of the best figures, exhibiting plastic quality of a high order, are marked by the purity of Aryan profile.

The bas-reliefs which adorn the temples of Kambuja form the most important class of Kambuja sculpture. The earlier specimens show the figures in fairly high relief like those of Java and India, but gradually the depth of the relief is diminished till the figures are merely incised or scratched on the surface, and the whole thing looks like a tepestry on stone. But subject to this limitation the bas-relief sculptures show balance, harmony and rhythm of a high order. They are marked for their narrative skill and cover a wide range of fields embracing almost all phases of human and animal lives. The scenes, largely drawn from the Indian epics, are full of life and movements, and are graceful without being exuberant. The vast lengths of galleries covered by these interminable scenes display the decorative faculties of Kambuja art at their very best, which, like true art, are subordinated to the architecture.

It is needless to give further details. But whether we look at the massive temples with elegant proportions or the sculptures which adorn their walls, we cannot withhold the highest tribute to their truly classic composition of the highest order.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN COLONISATION IN BURMA

1. Local Traditions

Burma is the biggest country in Indo-China covering an area of 237,000 square miles, its greatest length being 1200 miles and greatest breadth about 500 miles. It has two natural divisions, Upper Burma and Lower Burma, the boundary between the two running along the 20th parallel of latitude.

Arakan, which forms the western part of Burma, may be regarded as a continuation of south-eastern Bengal. Beyond this a series of high mountain ranges,—the Arakan Yoma, Chin Hills, Naga Hills and Patkoi Hills,—shut off the country from India. But though constituting effective barriers and preventing easy access, they are not impassable, and from earliest historical times roads from Assam and Manipur led through them to Upper Burma. The same thing is true of the eastern hills that separate Burma from the southern provinces of China and the heart of Indo-China. There was always an overland route through Burma which joined Eastern India to China and Tonkin.

The rich delta and the valley of the Irawadi constitute the most important region in the country. This great river is navigable for nearly 800 miles from its mouth, and most of the important towns and harbours, in all ages, such as Bhamo, Ava, Mandalay, Prome, Rangoon and Bassein were situated on its banks or near its mouth. The Salween, though a longer river, is not navigable, but in its lower course its valley opens out into a wide fertile plain which contained some of the most important colonial settlements of the ancient Hindus who came by sea. The more important ports, besides Bassein and Rangoon on the Irawadi, are Akyab, the chief town of Arakan, Moulmein, at the mouth of the Salween, and Mergui and Tavoy on the coast of the Tenasserim Peninsula.

Burma, being the nearest to India, and directly accessible both

by land and sea, naturally attracted Indian traders, merchants, missionaries and more ardent military spirits from a very early period. There is no doubt that by the first century A.D., and probably long before that, there were already large Hindu settlements both along the coastal region as well as in the interior of Burma. Unfortunately the beginnings of Indian colonisation in Burma, as in the rest of Indo-China, are shrouded in darkness and are merely echoed in local legends. These legendary accounts of early Indian immigrants into Burma are many and varied in character, and have been recorded in local chronicles of which we possess quite a large number. The most widely accepted legends about Indian settlements in Burma may be summed up as follows:

"Abhirāja, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilāvastu, marched with an army to Upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the Upper Irawadi, and set himself up as the king of the surrounding region. After his death the kingdom was divided in two parts. The elder son ruled over Arakan and the younger over Tagaung. Thirty-one generations of kings ruled over Tagaung when the kingdom was overthrown by tribes coming from the east. About this time, when Gautama was still alive, a second band of Kshatriyas from the Gangetic valley in India arrived in Upper Burma under Daza (Daśa or Dāsa) Raja. He occupied the old capital and married the widow of its last king. After sixteen generations of kings of the second dynasty had ruled, the kingdom of Tagaung was overrun by foreign invaders, who dethroned the king.

"The elder son of this king had a miraculous escape and founded a new kingdom with his capital near modern Prome. His son Duttabaung founded the great city of Thare Khettara (Śrīkshetra) near by and made it his capital. Eighteen kings ruled after him till 84 A.D., when a civil war broke out. Of the three constituent tribes Pyu, Kanran and Mramma, the first two fought for supremacy for eleven years. The Pyu having gained the contest by an artifice, the Kanran went off to Arakan. The Pyu themselves were shortly after defeated by the Mons or Talaings of the south, and after wandering in various regions founded the city of Pagan and settled there. After this the chronicles do not mention the separate tribes and the name Mramma, from which is derived the modern name Burma, appears as the national designation for all the peoples."

The Mons or Talaings in the coastal districts of Lower Burma have their own traditions regarding the early history of their country. According to traditions current among the people of Pegu, Indian colonists from the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and Godavari had at a remote time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast. We are told that Buddha himself, who came to this country, was stoned and driven away. The first settlement from India among these savage tribes is said to have been made by the two sons of king Tissa, who reigned in the country of Karanaka and the city of Thubinna. These princes lived as hermits and brought up a child born of a dragon on the sea-shore. This child, when grown up, built the city of Thaton and reigned as Siharāja (Siṁharāja).

A list of fifty-nine kings who reigned at Thaton (Sudhammavatī) is given in the chronicles.

Some time about the sixth century A.D. (573 A.D.) two sons of the reigning king of Thaton, Thamala (Śyāmala) and Vimala, excluded from succession to the throne, collected people from the surrounding country, and moving north-west founded a new city called Bogo or Pegu, known also by the sacred or classic name Haṁsāvatī.

Śyāmala, king of Pegu, promised his younger brother Vimala succession to the throne. But when Vimala went to Taxila to study, a son was born to Śyāmala, and Vimala, finding on his return that his brother had forgotten his promise, killed him and ascended the throne. Sixteen years later Hindu strangers came in ships to Pegu and surrounded it. Śyāmala's son came out from concealment, fought with the invaders, and defeated them, capturing seven ships and three thousand and five hundred Hindu strangers. He succeeded Vimala as king. There were altogether 17 kings in this dynasty, the last of whom, Tissa, ascended the throne in 761 A.D. A legend describes how this heretic king was converted to Buddhism by the devotion of a lady who became his chief queen.

The deltaic country including Thaton and Pegu is generally identified by local traditions with Suvarṇabhūmi in Indian Buddhist literature, and is regarded as the region converted by Asoka's missionaries Sona and Uttara. Even the birth-place of the two merchants Tapusa and Bhalluka who, according to Buddhist canon, saw the Buddha and became his first converts, is located in the same country. They are said to have brought home eight hairs of Buddha's head and enshrined them in a pagoda since known as the Shwe Degun, near Rangoon.

Leaving aside the chronological system, and the references to the Buddha and the Śākya clan, which are easily explained by the Buddhist proclivities of the chroniclers and the people at large, the broad facts underlying these legends are the settlement of Indian colonists, in Arakan and Burma, among the Pyus, Mramma and Karens, who were branches of the same race, and the Mons or Talaings in the south who belonged to a different race; the foundation of the Hindu kingdoms of Arakan, Tagaung, Śrīkshetra, Thaton and Pegu; and destruction of the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra by the Mons or Talaings of Pegu leading to the foundation of the new kingdom of Pagan where the Hinduised Mrammas or the Burmans came to occupy the supreme place.

The historical character of these broad facts rests on unimpeachable testimony. The literary and archaeological evidences prove beyond dispute that the entire culture and civilisation of

Burma was of Indian origin, and although the Chinese were nearer neighbours of the Burmese, and more allied to them in blood and speech, they exercised no influence, worth speaking of, in this direction, This indirectly testifies to the immigration of Indians into Burma on a large scale which is positively proved by the memorials they have left behind, from remote antiquity, in various parts of the country. But although a mass of interesting facts about Hindu colonisation have come to light, sufficient materials are not yet available for writing a history of Burma, in the form of a consecutive narrative, before the 11th century A.D. For the period before that we can only draw a general picture of Hindu colonisation, and it will be convenient to discuss it briefly before we deal separately with the different tribes *viz.*, the Mons, the Pyus, the Mrammas and the Arakanese who came under the influence of the Hindu colonists and imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation.

2. THE ANTIQUITY AND GENERAL NATURE OF HINDU CIVILISATION

It appears very probable on general grounds that the earliest colonial activities of the Indians were directed towards the neighbouring country of Burma ; for its upper highlands could be reached from Eastern India by well-frequented routes over the Patkoi hills and Arakan Yoma, and its vast coastal region was easily accessible by sea from the whole of eastern sea-board of India. That such was indeed the case may be gathered from a careful study of the evidence available to us, in addition to the Burmese traditions referred to above.

First of all, we have the Ceylonese Buddhist tradition that Asoka's missionaries visited Suvarṇabhūmi, which has been identified with Lower Burma. Although the identification, and even the tradition itself, cannot be regarded as absolutely proved, the testimony of Buddhaghosha, the famous commentator of the Pali canon, is highly important. This author, who lived in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., not only refers the scene of activities of Asoka's missionaries to Burma, but also regards, as natives of the same country, the two merchants who became the first lay disciples of the Buddha shortly after he attained Bodhi at Gayā. Improbable as these stories might seem, Buddhagosha's writings prove that early in the fifth century A.D. people regarded the introduction of Hindu culture in Burma as reaching back to hoary antiquity, and even going back to the time of Gautama Buddha.

Howsoever that may be, the settlement of Indians in Burma long before the second century A.D. is proved by Sanskrit place-names

mentioned by Ptolemy which have been located with a tolerable degree of certainly in Burma. The discovery of isolated Indian Brāhmī alphabets on stones in Burma also points to the same direction. According to the Chinese chronicles of the third century A.D. a kingdom called Lin-yang, which has been located in central Burma, had an ardent Buddhist population of over 100,000 families including several thousand monks. On the whole we shall be justified, on these grounds alone, in dating the beginning of Hindu colonisation in Burma certainly before, and probably long before, the beginning of Christian era.

The archaeological explorations in Burma are of recent growth, and so far only a few important old sites have been systematically excavated. But even these few excavations have yielded very interesting evidence of Indian culture. The finds may be broadly classified as written records, images, votive tablets (mostly terra-cottas), and religious structures. The records, mainly engraved on stones and terra-cotta tablets, and occasionally on gold plates and funeral urns, are written in Sanskrit, Pāli, Mon and Pyu languages, and the alphabets used are either Indian, or derived from them. The use of both North and South Indian alphabets indicates that colonists from different parts of India settled in Burma. So far as we can judge from the form of alphabets, the records cover the period from about third or fourth to tenth century A.D.

These records prove that Indian languages and literature, both Sanskrit and Pāli, were cultivated, and Indian religions, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, were adopted by the people at a remote antiquity, certainly not later than the earlier centuries of the Christian era and probably long before it. The two main Brahmanical sects, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism were known, though the latter seems to have been more in favour. As regards Buddhism we can trace the existence of various sects of both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and even the Trantric form of a somewhat debased character. Religious structures, particularly *stūpas*, belonging to 5th-7th century A.D., images of various gods and goddesses, Brahmanical and Buddhist, of the Gupta style, extracts from Buddhist scriptures engraved on gold plates in Indian character of fifth or sixth century A.D., and a large number of terra-cotta votive tablets with bas-reliefs, representing scenes from Buddha's life, and inscribed with the well-known Buddhist formula "*Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*" etc. in late Gupta alphabets prove the dominance of Indian culture, introduced by colonists emanating both from Northern and Southern India during the first millenium of the Christian era. The archaeological finds also prove the existence of important centres of Indian culture at or near Prome, Pegu, Thaton and Pagan.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HINDU KINGDOMS IN BURMA

1. Rāmaññadeśa

It appears from the legends and the archaeological evidence that the Hinduised Pyus and Mons in Lower Burma formed the most powerful political units in Burma during the first millenium of the Christian era. This is evidently due to the fact that Indian colonists who went by sea to Lower Burma were far larger in number than those who proceeded by difficult land-routes to Upper Burma. The racial characteristics of the original tribes with whom they came into contact also probably partially account for the difference. In any case, the Hinduised Mons seem to have been the most advanced in culture and civilisation, and at the beginning, also politically the most powerful.

The Mons are also known as Talaings. The origin of this name has been a matter of dispute. The most reasonable view seems to be that the name originally denoted the Indian colonists who came from Telingana in India (the Telugu speaking region on the coast of Bay of Bengal). It is probable that this name, originally confined to Indian colonists, or a section of them, was ultimately used to denote the whole people. It must be remembered, however, that the Mons themselves never used this term as a national name or designation. Even if we accept this explanation of the name Talaing we must not suppose that the Indian colonists, who settled in the deltaic regions of Burma, all came from the Kalinga or Andhra country. Apart from general considerations and evidence of culture and archaeology this is disproved even by the names of localities.

According to the Kalyani Inscriptions, dated 1476 A.D., the capital of the kingdom, when Asoka's missionaries visited it, was Golamattikanagara or Golanagara (modern Ayetthema, 20 miles north of Thaton) on the sea-coast. The city, we are told, was so named because " it contains many mud and wattle houses resembling those of the Gola people." This Gola has been identified by scholars with Gauḍa, and it has been pointed out that this name gradually became the Mon and Burmese appellations for all foreigners from

the west. Thus the people of Gauḍa or Bengal must be supposed to have played a considerable part in the Hindu colonisation of Lower Burma, a conclusion fully in keeping with the geographical position of Bengal, and the importance of its sea-ports, specially Tāmralipta, during the first millenium of the Christian era.

Classical Pali names are given to certain cities and localities. Thus we find Sudhamma (or °vatī) and Haṁsāvatī as well-known names of Thaton and Pegu. Thaton is really a corrupted form of Sudhamma.

The name Utkaladeśa, denoting the Hindu colonial settlements from Rangoon to Pegu, is of special interest. Every reader of the Buddhist Pali canon knows the story of the two merchants Tapussa and Bhalluka who met the Buddha at the end of the seventh week after his enlightenment, offered him food and became his first lay devotees. It is said that the Buddha gave the merchants a few hairs of his head and these were deposited as relics in a shrine which they erected in their native city. Now, the Pali canon mentions Utkala as the home of the merchants. This presumably refers to the well-known coastal region now called Orissa, but the Buddhists in Lower Burma regard the merchants as natives of Utkaladeśa in Burma, and identifies the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda near Rangoon as the shrine containing the hairs of Buddha. It is possible that the name Utkala was originally applied to a region in the delta in Lower Burma by the colonists from Orissa coast, and the resemblance of the name led to the localisation of the story of Tapussa and Bhalluka in this country. It is less probable, as has been suggested, that the name Utkaladeśa was applied to this region in Burma, in order to localise the story there. The names of many other Hindu settlements in Lower Burma are known from inscriptions and literature. Thus we have Rāmāvatī and Asitāñjana-nagara (near Rangoon), Kusima-nagara or -maṇḍala (Bassein), Rāmapura (Moulmein) and Muttima-maṇḍala (Martaban).

The Hinduised Mon settlements in Lower Burma were known collectively as Ramañña-desa. It was evidently so called after the racial name Ramen, found in an eleventh century inscription, from which, through the medieval form 'Rman,' is derived the modern word 'Mon' as the designation of the people.

Except the legendary accounts referred to above we possess no information about the history of the Mons till we come to the seventh century A.D. The names of the kingdoms beyond the frontiers of Samataṭa (Lower Bengal) which we find in Hiuen Tsang's accounts supply valuable information regarding the political geography of Burma. These are (1) Shi-li-cha-ta-lo on the sea, north-east of Samataṭa ; (2) Kia-mo-lang-kia to the south-east of the preced-

ing; (3) To-lo-pa-ti further to the east; (4) I-shang-na-pu-la, further east; (5) Mo-ho-chen-po or Lin-i, further east; and (6) Yen-mo-na-chon, south-west of the preceding. I-tsing also refers the countries 1-3 and 5, the second kingdom being called Lankasu.

The identification of these localities has given rise to a great deal of controversy into which we need not enter. There can be hardly any reasonable doubt that Nos. 4 and 5 refer, respectively, to Kambuja, known as Īśānapura, and Champā. There is equally little doubt that No. 3 refers to the kingdom of Dvāravatī on the lower Menam Valley. The identification of No. 1 with Śrīkshetra or Old Prome in Burma is the most reasonable view. It is true that the direction, north-east of Samataṭa, does not apply, but on the other hand, this direction cannot lead to any locality on the sea. Besides, I-tsing places Śrīkshetra close to the sea-coast and south of the range of hills between Tibet and China. If we assume these identifications to be true No. 2 can only refer to the Mon country in Lower Burma and its identification with Tenasserim appears very reasonable. Although the exact name of the Mon kingdom cannot be restored, Hiuen Tsang's account proves the existence, side by side, of the Pyu kingdom round Prome and the Mon kingdom to its south-east. It also shows that these kingdoms were well-known in India, at least in East India, and there was intercourse between the two. It may be noted here that the Kathāsaritsāgara refers to a kingdom called Kalasapura, which is also referred to in Chinese history and may be placed to the south-east of Prome at the mouth of the Sittang river.

There are good reasons to believe that the kingdom of Dvāravatī mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, in the valley of the Menam, was also a Mon kingdom. This kingdom comprised the lower valley of the Menam river, with its capital probably at Lavapurī (modern Lopbhuri). Several Mon Inscriptions, in archaic character, probably belonging to the eighth century A.D., engraved on a pillar, and a Buddha image have been discovered in the ruins of the city. The Pali chronicles Chāmadevīvaṁsa and the Jinakālamalinī fully support the same view. These two annals of the kingdom of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun and Chieng Mai in N. Siam) based on vernacular local texts were written resp[illegible]vely at the beginning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., and give an interesting account of the spread of Buddhism in this region from the earliest time. Leaving aside the legendary accounts of the Buddha and his immediate followers, the historical accounts of the Medieval age, preserved in them, is on the whole fairly reliable, as is proved by inscriptions and other evidence. According to these chronicles, the *ṛishi* (ascetic) Vāsudeva founded the town of Hari-

puñjaya in 661 A.D. Two years later, on his invitation, Chāmadevī, daughter of the king of Lavanagara or Lavapurī and a spouse, probably a widow, of the king of Ramañña-nagara, came from her father's capital with a large number of followers and Buddhist teachers, and was placed on the throne of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun). Her descendants ruled over the kingdom and Buddhism was spread over the surrounding country. The people of this kingdom fled during an epidemic to Lower Burma whose people, we are told, spoke the same language.

The dates, as recorded in the chronicles, cannot be implicitly accepted, and checked by those derived from inscriptions, appear to be about a century too early. The Mon settlement at Haripuñjaya may therefore be placed about the eighth century A.D.

We may thus reasonably infer that not only was Dvāravatī a Hinduised Mon kingdom in the sixth or seventh century A.D., but that from this centre the Hinduised Mons spread their power and influence in the more inaccessible regions in North Siam and West Laos. In any case there is no doubt that by the eighth century A.D. the Hindu colonists in the Mon country in Lower Burma had spread their power along the coast right up to the valley of the Menam river. The history of the kingdoms founded by them has been preserved in local chronicles, written in vernaculars, as well as in Pali texts. They give us a long list of royal names (mostly in Indian form), and describe their fight with the Mlechchhas (the aborigines) and pious foundations of Buddhist monasteries. Archaeological discoveries fully confirm their general picture of the Hindu culture and civilisation established in these regions.

The power and prestige which the Mons had established in Lower Burma and North Siam in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. lend support to the statement in the Burmese chronicles that they defeated the Pyus of Śrīkshetra (old Prome) and extended their authority over this region. But we possess no detailed account of their history.

2. ŚRĪKSHETRA

To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma the Hinduised Pyus established a kingdom with Śrīkshetra (modern Hmawza, near Prome) as the capital. According to the legends quoted above, this kingdom was founded by a member of the Hindu or Hinduised royal dynasty of Tagaung on the Irawadi in Upper Burma. There is no inherent improbability in the assumption that the Indian

colonists who went by land-route to Upper Burma from East India, through Manipur, gradually spread southwards along the Irawadi. But in view of the fact that Prome was much nearer the sea in those days than at present, arrival of fresh Indian colonists by sea, or by land through Arakan, cannot be altogether discounted, and even appears quite probable. This view gathers further strength from the undisguised attempt in the Burmese chronicles to regard the later Burmese kingdom proper of Pagan as a mere continuation of the kingdom of Prome. Philological evidence, however, proves that the Pyus who undoubtedly dominated in Śrīkshetra or Prome, were very distantly related to the Mrammas or Burmese proper who ruled over the kingdom of Pagan. On the whole it would be much safer to take the Pyu as a distinct political unit, and regard the kingdom of Śrīkshetra as a separate Hindu colony, rather than a mere offshoot of that of Upper Burma. There is no doubt that the Hinduised Pyus were much more advanced in culture than the Mrammas, for they possessed a script of their own from an early period whereas the latter do not seem to have any knowledge of writing before the eleventh century A.D. Although the inscribed records of the Pyus, discovered so far, do not enable us to reconstruct even an outline of their political history, they furnish the names of certain kings and throw light upon their culture and civilisation. The records were all found at or near Hmawza (old Prome), the ancient Pyu capital, and we may notice a few of them.

(1) An inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, composed in beautiful Sanskrit verses, interspersed with Pyu renderings of Sanskrit Text. The script and the style of the image both resemble those of Eastern India of about the seventh century A.D. It appears from the record that the image of Buddha was set up by king Jayachandravarman at the instance of his *guru* (religious preceptor) for maintaining peace and good-will between the king and his younger brother Harivikrama. We are further told that king Jayachandra built two cities side by side.

(2) Seven inscriptions on five funeral urns, found at Payagi Pagoda, contain the names of three kings Harivikrama, Siha (Siṁha) Vikrama and Suriya (Sūrya) Vikrama. The dates in these inscriptions have been interpreted to refer to the period between A.D. 673 and 718 A.D., but this is by no means certain. The inscriptions are written in Pyu language and archaic South-Indian alphabets which appear to belong to a much earlier period.

(3) The Pyu inscription on a *stūpa* gives the names or titles of donors as Śrī Prabhuvarma and Śrī Prabhudevi, and most probably these are the names of a king and his queen.

The antiquity and the importance of the Pyus is proved by the fact that the earliest notices in Chinese texts regarding Burma refer to the people as P'iao, which undoubtedly is the same as Pyu. These notices go back to the third century A.D., and show that the

Pyus then occupied the valley of the Irawadi. The continued existence of the Pyus is confirmed by references in Chinese texts between the third and the seventh century A.D. The account of Hiuen Tsang, referred to above, shows that the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra was the first great Hindu kingdom beyond the frontier of East India. The several inscriptions, noted above, probably also belong to the same period.

The rise of the powerful Thai kingdom of Nan-chao in Yunnan proved a source of great danger to the Pyus. The Thais of Nan-chao seem to have dominated upper Burma in the 8th and 9th centuries. Ko-lo-fong, the king of Nan-chao, inflicted a defeat upon the Chinese in 754 A.D., and the internal dissensions of the Chinese empire, following shortly after, freed him from any danger in that quarter. He, therefore, turned his attention to the west and invaded the Pyu kingdom. The Pyu-Nan-chao frontier corresponded with the Sino-Burman frontier to-day in the neighbourhood of Bhamo. The Pyu king seems to have submitted to his powerful neighbour. When I-meu-sin, the grandson of Ko-lo-fong, submitted to China towards the close of the eighth century and sent embassies to the Imperial court, the Pyu king also imitated his example. In 802 A.D., he sent an embassy led by his brother (or son) Sunandana, governór of the city of Śrī (perhaps Bhamo or Tagaung), and sent the musicians of his court as present to the Chinese emperor. Another embassy was sent in 807 A.D. It is presumably from these embassies that the Chinese derived the information about the country which we find recorded in Chinese chronicles. According to the Chinese account the Pyu kingdom was 500 miles from east to west and 700 or 800 miles from north to south. It adjoined to Kambuja on the east and the sea on the south. On its south-west (probably meaning south-east) was Dvāravatī, and on its west Eastern India. It extended up to Nan-chao on the north. The Pyus claimed to have 18 subject kingdoms, mostly to the south of Burma, but as the list includes Palembang, Java, Śravastī, *etc.* it seems to be largely an empty boast. Lists of 8 or 9 garrison towns and of the 32 most important among the 298 tribes or settlements, are algo given.

The Old History of the Tang Dynasty contains an account of the Pyu kingdom from which the following extracts are quoted :—

"The king's name is Mahārāja. His chief minister is Mahāsena. The city-wall is faced with glazed bricks; it is 27 miles in circumference. The banks of the moat, too, are faced with brick. Within the walls the inhabitants number several thousands of families. There are over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with gold and silver. It is their custom to love life and hate killing. Their laws contain no mention of punishment nor any kind of chains or fetters. When they come to the age of seven, both boys and girls drop

their hair and stop in a monastery where they take refuge in the Sangha. On reaching the age of twenty, if they have not awakened to the principles of Buddha they let their hair grow again and become ordinary townsfolk. Their clothes are all made of silk-cotton cloth (?). They do not wear silk, because they say it comes from silk-worms and involves injury to life."

The *Man-Shu,* another Chinese chronicle, adds that the Pyu custom is "to esteem modesty and decency. Their disposition is peaceful and good. They are men of few words. There are many fortune-tellers and astrologers."

The new history of the Tang Dynasty contains a long passage about the Pyus from which the following extracts are made :—

There are twelve gates with pagodas at the four corners: the people all live within. They make their tiles of lead and tin, and their timber of lychee. They are acquainted with astronomy and delight in Buddha's law. There is a great white image, 100 ft. high ("opposite the gate of the palace," adds the Man-shu). Their money is of silver and gold (Man-shu says only of silver) shaped like the half-moon. They traffic with their neighbouring tribes in glazed ware and earthen jars, among other things. The married women wear their hair piled in coils on the top of the head and ornamented with silver and strings of pearls. They wear blue skirts of silk-cotton (?) and throw about them pieces of guaze silk. When out for a walk, they hold a fan. Those of high rank have five or six attendants at their side, all holding fans. They have 22 musical instruments, made of 8 different substances—of metal, 2; of shell, 1; of string, 7; of bamboo, 2; of gourd, 2; of leather, 2; of ivory, 1; and of horn, 2 (detailed description follows of these musical instruments and the dress of the musicians and dancers). The twelve songs they sang at the Chinese Court were on Buddhist themes."

The musical instruments appear to be mostly those with which we are familiar in India. The number and variety of instruments and the excellence of the musical performance which produced great impression on the Chinese Court indicate that the Hinduised Pyus had attained to a high degree of civilisation. This is fully borne out by the other facts that we know about them, from their inscriptions, artistic remains, and the manner and customs described by the Chinese.

How and when this glorious Pyu civilisation came to an end is not known with certainty. In 832 A.D. the king of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom. According to Man-shu the invaders "plundered the Pyu capital, took more than 3000 persons as prisoners and banished them into servitude at Yunnanfu," Nan-chao's eastern capital. Some scholars are of opinion that this brought about the sudden end of the Pyu civilisation. But Pelliot points out that the Pyu kingdom continued after that and sent an embassy to China in 862 A.D.

It would appear from the Chinese accounts that the Pyu kingdom in the ninth century A.D. included a large part, if not the whole of Upper and Central Burma. But we know very little of this kingdom after the 9th century. It is probable that they were

worsted in a fight with the Mons of the south and removed their capital higher up on the Irawadi, probably at Pagan.

When the Mrammas (Burmans) came into prominence at Pagan by the middle of the 11th century A.D. they borrowed the religion and script of the Mons. This seems to confirm the legends that the Pyu dynasty was conquered by the Mons, and possibly the latter incorporated the southern part of the Pyu kingdom, including Prome, within their kingdom. Pressed by the Mons from the south and the Mrammas from the north the Pyus gradually lost all political power, and were ultimately merged into their powerful neighbours. This alone satisfactorily explains the complete disappearance of the Pyus from the subsequent history of Burma.

3. TĀMRAPAṬṬANA AND VAIŚĀLĪ (ARAKAN)

Arakan extends for nearly 350 miles along the shore of Bay of Bengal and is shut off by a mountain range—the Arakan Yoma—from Burma. Its northern part, which may be regarded as almost a continuation of E. Bengal, is intersected by chains of hills, and watered by the two rivers the Myu and the Kaladan. Its southern part, specially the Sandoway district, had, generally speaking, a separate history of its own.

Arakan, like Burma, possesses traditions of early colonisation by Indian settlers, and some of the Burmese chronicles represent the royal family of Arakan as elder branch of the old Indian royal family of Tagaung in Upper Burma. The chronicles also refer to inroads into Arakan by the Kanran, the Pyus, Shans and other Burmese tribes. Whatever may be the amount of truth in these traditions, there is no doubt that the Arakanese were connected, by blood and language, to the Burmese.

The geographical position of Arakan makes it likely that it received Indian colonies and Indian culture and civilisation from a remote antiquity, a period certainly anterior to that of the Indian colonisation in Burma, and probably centuries before the Christian Era. But we have no reliable record of this early period of its history.

According to the chronicles of Arakan the first Indian royal dynasty was founded by the son of a king of Benares, who fixed his capital in a city called Rāmāvatī. The second royal dynasty was founded by a Brāhmaṇa, in Arakan district, who had married a daughter of the earlier royal family. A female descendant, again, of this family became the progenitor of the third royal family ruling at Dhanyavatī which became the classical name of the whole

country. A Kshatriya chief of Tagaung in Upper Burma came to Arakan, after leaving the ancestral kingdom to his younger brother, narried the daughter of this royal family and founded the fourth royal family which reigned, first on the top of the hill called Kyauk-panduang and then in the city of Dhanyavatī, now known as Rakhaingmyu. In A.D. 146, during the reign of a king called Chandra-Sūrya, was cast the famous Buddha image called Mahāmuni which has been regarded as the tutelary deity of Arakan, throughout the historic period.

In the eighth century A.D. Vesali (Vaiśālī) was founded as the new capital. According to the chronicles it was built in 789 A.D. by Maha-tain Chandra who had abandoned the previous capital Dhanyavatī where some revolution or war had taken place during his father Sūryaketu's reign. Sūryaketu, we are told, was the fifty-third king in lineal descent from the Tagaung prince who founded the fourth royal family in Arakan. The Vesali dynasty came to an end during the closing years of the tenth century when the city was abandoned. This episode is connected in local legends with Shwe-daung, the Golden Hillock, a large monument, of which the ruins still exist near the village Vethali, which represents the site occupied by the palace of the old capital Vesali. King Chula-tain Chandra, so runs the legend, went about his kingdom with a retinue of unwise and dissolute companions and never came back. This happened at about 957 A.D. Some time later, Amratu, chief of the Mron tribe living in the hills of Arakan, seized the throne of Vesali by treachery and married the late king's queen Chandadevī. Angry at the conduct of this Mron chief, the Pyu king invaded Arakan with 90,000 men. Amratu's nephew, who later became king of Vesali, enticed the Pyu king not far from the spot where the Shwe-daung stands, and defeated him. 80,000 Pyu were massacred and the Pyu king fled with the rest of his army. The place where the property—gold, jewels *etc.*—of the Pyu king and his army was buried is marked by Shwe-daung. This happened about 964 A.D. or somewhat later. The abandonment of Vesali took place about 1018 A.D.

These legends, like those of Burma, seem to contain a kernel of truth. The discovery of a Buddha image, with inscriptions in Gupta character, proves the introduction of Buddhism and probably also the establishment of Indian settlements in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although we have no record of the early history, the existence of a Chandra dynasty, about the period mentioned in the chronicles, is definitely proved by coins and inscriptions. A large number of coins have been discovered in various parts of Arakan, issued by kings Dharmachandra, Prīti-

chandra, Dharmavijaya, Nītichandra and Vīrachandra. These kings must have ruled before the eighth or ninth century A.D. at the latest.

The most important historical record is an inscription engraved on a pillar which is now in Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan. It gives an account of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṁśa and furnishes a list of 19 kings of the dynasty with regnal period of each. Owing to the damaged state of the pillar the names of all the kings cannot be made out with certainty, but we can distinctly read the following names with regnal periods.

Serial No.	Name.	Regnal period.
1.	Bālachandra	
2.	Devachandra	22
3.	Yajñachandra	7
7.	Dīpachandra	
8.	Prītichandra	22
10.	Nītichandra	
11.	Mahāvīra	
14.	Dharmaśūra	3
16.	Śrī-Dharmavijaya	
17.	Narendravijaya, son of 16	2
18.	Narendrachandra	8
19.	Ānandachandra	

The inscription was issued in the reign of Ānandachandra who is said to have erected many *vihāras* and Buddhist temples, and set up beautiful images of copper. He gave every day linen cloth to the monks coming from different parts of the country and constructed various dwellings and roads in different parts for the use of the Ārya-saṁgha. He also granted land with servants to fifty Brāhmaṇas.

Some of these royal names such as Prītichandra, Nītichandra and Dharmavijaya occur also on the coins and it may be reasonably assumed that most of the coins were issued by the kings of this dynasty, known as Dharmarājānuja-vaṁśa. Judging from the letters of the inscription this dynasty may be presumed to have ruled between 600 and 1000 A.D. This date agrees remarkably well with that of the Chandra kings mentioned in the chronicles, but the names given in them are quite different. In any case, we have to regard the Dharmarājānuja-vaṁśa as the first historical royal dynasty of Arakan which probably ruled for three or four hundred years, if not more. As Ānandachandra is described as the king of Tāmrapaṭṭana, that must be regarded as the name of Arakan or of the capital of the dynasty. The chronicles on the other hand name the capital city as Vesali (Vaiśālī), presumably named after the famous city of that name in North Bihar. Ruins of this city

still exist in and near a village called Vethali (Vesali) 8 miles to the north-west of Mrohaung. Remnants of an old moat and the surrounding walls of the old palace have been traced. Other remains of both buildings and sculptures, scattered through the surrounding jungle, now the haunts of tigers and leopards, indicate the once wide extent of the ancient city and bear unmistakable signs of Gupta influence. A bronze bell with a short Sanskrit inscription of about the seventh century A.D. engraved on it and an inscription in the Gupta character, belonging probably to the 8th century A.D., have been found in Vesali. It is possible that there were two branches of the royal family, if not two separate royal families, of kings bearing names ending in Chandra, one ruling at Vesali and the other at Tāmrapaṭṭana. The fact that Ānanda-chandra was probably a Buddhist, while the coins bear Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols, lends some support to this theory. But these questions, as well as the relationship, if any, of these kings with those of the Buddhist Chandra family, ruling in South-East Bengal about the same time, cannot be settled at present. It is probable, however, that the Chandra kings represent fresh batches of colonists from Bengal.

According to the chronicles, the Shans invaded Arakan in the tenth century A.D., and occupied it for eighteen years. This probably refers to the invasion of the Pyu, as we have no evidence of the advance of the Shans so far west about this period, or it may be due to confusion with the later Shan invasions.

The sculptures discovered so far in Arakan are predominantly Buddhist, but, as noted above, there are Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols on the coins. It is probable that the kings and people were mainly Buddhist though Brahmanical religion was also favoured. This also follows from the inscription of king Ānanda-chandra, who was evidently a Buddhist, but also granted lands to fifty Brāhmaṇas.

As we shall see later, North Arakan was conquered by the Burmese king Aniruddha, though the southern part of the country remained an independent kingdom. But the Burmese supremacy over North Arakan was, generally speaking, more nominal than real, and it was ruled over by its hereditary kings. The Burmese suzerainty ceased with the fall of Pagan, though once in the fourteenth century, the people asked the Ava Court to nominate a king and there were occasional raids both by the Burmese and the Talaings. In 1404 the king of Arakan, driven by the Burmese, fled to Bengal, and with the help of the Muslim ruler of Gaur, regained his kingdom in 1430. He founded a new capital at the city of

Mrohaung. From this time the Buddhist kings of Arakan added Muhammadan designations to their names.

Mrohaung is situated in the rocky plain forming the watershed between the Lemro (Anjanadi) and the Kaladan rivers. There was a great deal of architectural activity in Mrohaung during the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. and the best temples and sculptures of Arakan, all Buddhist, and made of stone, belong to these two centuries. Mrohaung remained the capital up to 1785 when Arakan was conquered by Burma and became a province of this kingdom.

4. THE RISE OF ARIMARDANAPURA

Popular philology derives the tribal name Burman from the Sanskrit word Brahma, invested with a sacred character. It seems to be more probable, however, that Mramma (*var.* Myamma) was the original ethnic appellation of a branch of the Tibeto-Dravidian tribe who settled in Burma and ultimately gave its name to the whole country and its peoples of diverse origin. It has been suggested that the name of the tribe was derived from the Brahmaputra river, on whose banks it lived for a long time.

The Burmese chronicles refer to the Mrammas and the Pyus as branches of the same race, but this may be doubted. The affinity, if there were any, must be of a remote character. The Mrammas were a rude unlettered people, without any knowledge of writing, even when the Hinduised Pyu kingdom and civilisation flourished at Śrīkshetra (near Prome), and there is nothing to indicate that they attained to any considerable political power long before the 11th century A.D. Far from the Pyus and the Mrammas coalescing to give birth to the united Burmans, as the chronicles would have us believe, the Mrammas seem to have borrowed the essential elements of civilisation, such as religion, language and literature from the alien Mons conquered by them, and not from the Pyus. This seems to indicate that the Mrammas had little in common with the Hinduised Pyus, and that the civilisation of the latter was a spent up force before the 11th century A.D. when the Mrammas gained political ascendancy in the territories once occupied by them.

In the light of what we know about the Pyus the legendary account of the early Hinduised kingdom in Tagaung should be held as applicable to the Pyu rather than to the Mramma.

How and when the Mrammas first attained political importance we do not know. It is probable that when the rule of the Pyus in Upper Burma was weakened by the raids of Nan-chao, the Mrammas found their opportunity to establish independent authority. Later,

when the Pyus were worsted in their fights with their southern neighbours, the Mons, and were forced to retire northwards, the Mrammas gradually acquired a supreme position. According to the legendary account the Pyus, driven from Śrīkshetra (Prome), founded a new capital at Pagan further up the Irawadi river. This may be true, but there is no doubt that Pagan soon became the centre of the Mramma power, and the capital of a mighty Mramma kingdom.

It is very likely that the Mrammas poured in Burma in large number in the ninth or tenth century A.D., and their first importaut settlement in the plains was in the Kyaukse district. The Burmese national era, which starts from 638 A.D., is attributed by the chronicles to a chief of Pagan, and this, if true, might be regarded as marking the foundation of the Mramma power in that city. But the origin of the era is involved in obscurity, and is a matter of keen dispute among scholars. The latest view regards it as a Pyu era inaugurated by the Vikrama dynasty ruling at Prome referred to above.

According to some chronicles the city of Pagan was founded by king Pyañpya in 849 A.D. Its classical name is Arimardanapura. The kingdom is called Tāmbradipa, and the region, Tattadeśa. The Ari heretics are said to have flourished in the neighbourhood about the tenth century A.D. The chronicles refer to many kings of Pagan before the accession of Anawratha, but only one, Saw Rahan, is mentioned in inscription. He built a Buddhist Sīmā (Ordination Hall) at Mt. Turan, about 8 miles east of Pagan.

According to Burmese legends a king of Pagan, named Theinhke (Siṁha), while roaming in the forest, felt hungry and ate a cucumber in a farmer's field. For this offence, the farmer struck him dead, and, strange to say, became himself king through the favour of the widowed queen. The farmer king, Saw Rahan, was overthrown by Kyaunghpyu. The latter was forced to take to a monastic life with his son Anawratha, by two sons of Saw Rahan who ruled one after another. The younger of this was challenged to a single fight by Anawratha and killed. Thereupon Anawratha ascended his father's throne.

This legend, which is typical of the rest, can hardly be accepted as true without further evidence, but seems to indicate that the kingdom of Pagan was neither powerful nor very extensive.

With the accession of Anawratha we enter upon a period in the history of the Mrammas, where the inscriptions enable us to check the accounts of the late Burmese chronicles, and supply reliable historical information. They show that the dates recorded in the chronicles are mostly wrong, though not by a very wide margin, and

that the names borne by the kings were really Indian, though presented in the chronicles in a Burmese form, whose Indian original is not always easy to discover. Thus according to Burmese chronicles Anawratha became king in A.D. 1010. But from inscriptions we know that the king's name was really Aniruddha, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1044. In dealing with the history of Burma, we should, therefore, use the Indian names and correct dates of kings ascertained from inscriptions, whenever it is possible to do so. Further, we may henceforth use the modern name Burman to denote the Mrammas, who seem to have absorbed the Pyus, as we can no longer trace their separate existence as a political or racial unit, except in stray references to individuals or small groups still bearing the old name. It may be added also that most of the localities in Burma had an Indian name along with a local one. Pagan, as noted above, was called Arimardanapura, and was also known by other names of Sanskritic origin. These Indian names will be indicated whenever possible.

BOOK V

CHAPTER III

THE ARIMARDANAPURA EMPIRE

1. King Aniruddha, the Great

The reign of Aniruddha was a turning point in the history of the Burmans. He raised the small principality of Pagan into an extensive kingdom, including the greater part of modern Burma, and introduced elements of higher culture and civilisation among a rude unlettered people.

At the time when he ascended the throne, a Buddhist sect, called the Ari, dominated the religious and social life of the people of Upper Burma. The practices of the Aris were of debased Tantric character, and to this they added a nāga-cult in which Buddha and his *Śaktis* played a prominent part. The Aris had long hair and beards, wore black dresses, drank heavily, practised riding and boxing, fought battles, and pretended to a knowledge of charm and magic. They professed Mahāyāna Buddhism in name, but seem to have been greatly influenced by its Tibetan form. The village of Thamahti, a few miles south-east of Pagan, was the stronghold of '30 Ari lords and their 60,000 pupils' and their teachings and authority were accepted by the king and the people.

The chronicles describe how king Aniruddha was converted to the pure Theravāda form of Buddhism by a Brāhmana monk of Thaton named Arahan, known as Dharmadarśī. Encouraged by the sympathy of the king, Arahan sent for more monks from the Mon country in the south and soon they began a crusade against the powerful sect of the Aris. The efforts of Aniruddha and Arahan were successful. The power of the Aris was broken; many of them retired to Shan States in the east, and others took to peaceful life of cultivators. Thus a great religious reform was brought about by the king. Necessity was now felt of sacred books of the new religion, without which it could not make further progress, or be placed on a solid foundation. Arahan urged the king to secure complete copies of Buddhist Tripiṭaka from the Mon kingdom of Thaton. The king accordingly sent envoys to the Mon king. The latter,

however, not only refused the sacred books, but insulted the royal messengers. Aniruddha now decided to carry by force what he could not secure by peaceful means. He marched with an army and besieged Thaton. After 3 months' siege Thaton capitulated. Aniruddha returned in triumph to Pagan with the royal captive Manuha, bound in golden chains, and accompanied by all the monks and a large number of prisoners including artisans and craftsmen. But the most priceless treasure in the eye of the king was the Buddhist scriptures and sacred relics which were carried by the thirty-two white elephants of the vanquished king. On his way king Aniruddha razed the walls of the ancient Pyu capital Śrīkshetra (near Prome) and carried away the relics enshrined in its pagodas for many centuries.

Aniruddha next led an expedition against N. Arakan and defeated its king. The Shan chiefs of the east also acknowledged his suzerainty. Aniruddha is also credited with conquests outside the frontier of Burma. He is said to have visited "the Indian land of Bengal." Probably in course of his expedition against Arakan he advanced within the Chittagong district, but there is nothing to show that he attained any conspicuous success. The Burmese chronicles, however, represent his kingdom as bounded by Paṭṭikera, a principality in the district of Tippera. To the east he led his victorious army against Burma's old enemy, the Thais of Nan-chao. He is said to have besieged the capital Tali, but ultimately a peace was concluded and the two chiefs exchanged presents. On his return journey he passed through the Shan States, received the homage of their chiefs, and married the daughter of one of them. When the Chief of Chieng-Mai in N. Siam attacked Pegu, Aniruddha sent a detachment of picked Indians who drove away the invader.

Aniruddha carried out great irrigation works, which enriched the Kyaukse region and made it the granary of Burma. He married an Indian princess, Pañchakalyāṇī of Vesali (Vaiśālī), and the chronicles give a long account of her journey to Burma and some romantic episodes in that connection.

Aniruddha's victories had far-reaching results. They placed nearly the whole of Burma, excluding Tenasserim, under his authority, and brought about a political union of the country, probably for the first time in its history. Far more important was the complete transformation of Burmese culture under the influence of the Mons. The Burmese adopted their religion, script and sacred literature, and while the Mon kingdom was destroyed, the Mon culture commenced a new career in Pagan. Never before was a conquering power so completely captivated by the vanquished. Even the classical example of Rome and Greece was far surpassed. Hence-

forth the kings of Pagan became great champions of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism hitherto current in Lower Burma, and it has flourished over the whole country down to our own time.

Aniruddha was fired by the zeal of a new convert. He built numerous pagodas or temples and monasteries, and his example was followed by his successors. There is one interesting feature which characterises the religious faith of the great king. He had the well-known Buddhist formula '*ye dharmā*' etc. engraved on votive tablets, but in the concluding portion, instead of "so said the great Śramaṇa *i.e.* Buddha," we find "so said Aniruddha-deva." This is a striking example of the zeal of a new convert carried to excess.

Aniruddha's name and fame spread far and wide, and he came to be recognised as the Defender of Buddhist Faith. When Ceylon was invaded by the Cholas, its king Vijayavāhu I sent ships asking Aniruddha to come to his aid. When the invaders were driven out without the help of the Burmese king, the king of Ceylon, in order to repair the ravages done by the enemy, requested Aniruddha to send him monks and scriptures. Aniruddha complied with it, and asked, in return, for the tooth of Buddha which was enshrined as a priceless relic in Ceylon. The Ceylonese king sent him a duplicate. When the ship carrying the jewelled casket, containing the relic, reached the Irawadi, below Pagan, a mighty procession went out to receive it. King Aniruddha himself waded into the river up to the neck, placed the casket on his head, and carried it in procession to the shrine he had built for it,—the famous Shewzigon Pagoda which still attracts worshippers from all over Burma.

2. KYANZITTHA

Aniruddha died in 1077 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Sawlu (Śalya ?). His reign was an inglorious one. The Mons of Pegu revolted, and marched up to Pagan. The king fell into their hands and was executed in 1084 A.D.

Kyanzittha, the other son of Aniruddha, who had fled to the north, now marched against the rebels and defeated them. He was formally crowned in 1084 A.D. and assumed the title Śrī-Tribhuvanāditya-dharmarāja. His early romantic career, ever since his birth of the Indian princess of Vesali, is described in great details in the chronicles, but need not be repeated here. He built a new palace and many pagodas. He desired to marry his daughter to the prince of Paṭṭikera, but the minister objected to it. The prince's love for the daughter of Kyanzittha, ending in suicide,

forms the theme of Burmese poems and dramas, which are acted on the stage even now.

During Kyanzittha's reign, Burma was in intimate touch with India. Many Buddhists and Vaishṇavas went from India and settled in his kingdom. It is said that the king fed eight Indian monks with his own hands for three months, and hearing from them the description of Indian temples, designed and built the famous temple of Ānanda, the master-piece of Burman architecture. Whatever we might think of this story, there is no doubt that the Ānanda temple was designed on Indian models. A modern European author writes:

"Still in daily use as a house of prayer, the Ānanda, with its dazzling garb of white and its gilt spire glittering in the morning sun, is to-day one of the wonders of Pagan. Inside the temple, two life-size statues kneel at the feet of a gigantic Buddha; they have knelt there for more than eight centuries. One of these is the king and the other his teacher Arahan. The face of the king is not Burmese—his mother was an Indian lady."

Kyanzittha completed the Shwezigon pagoda begun by his father and built some 40 smaller pagodas. He even repaired the famous temple of Bodh-Gaya. We read in the chronicles:

"King Kyanzittha gathered together gems of divers kinds and sent them in a ship to build up the holy temple at Buddha-gayā, and to offer lights which should burn for ever there. Thereafter king Kyanzittha builded anew, making them finer than before, the great buildings of king Asoka, for they were old and in ruins."

Kyanzittha is also said to have persuaded a Chola king of India to adopt Buddhism. The latter offered his daughter with rich presents to the Burmese king.

Kyanzittha sent an expedition against South Arakan and compelled its chief to acknowledge his suzerainty. He also sent a mission to China in 1106 and insisted on precedence over the Chola ruler. The Board of Rites reported in favour of Pagan as it was a sovereign state.

3. THE LATER KINGS OF ARIMARDANAPURA

Kyanzittha died in 1112 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson (daughter's son) Alaungsithu who had a long reign of fifty-five years. His reign was troubled with rebellions. The chief of South Arakan, who raided frontier villages, was beheaded and the king himself suppressed a rising in Tenasserim. The king of North Arakan, dispossessed of his throne by a usurper, sought the protection of the court of Pagan. Alaungsithu sent an expedition both by land and sea and restored the rightful owner to his throne. When the grateful king of Arakan wanted to do something in

return, he was asked by Alaungsithu to repair the Bodh-Gaya temple; he sent his agent with enough funds to do the same.

Alaungsithu spent much of his time in travelling and is said to have visited Malaya, Arakan and Bengal. He is also reported to have gone to Nan-chao with an army to obtain the tooth-relic of Buddha, but without success. He built the famous Thatpyinnu temple at Pagan and many minor ones. He married a daughter of the king of Paṭṭikera. He was murdered in his old age by his younger son Narathu who ascended the throne in 1167 A.D.

Narathu was cruel and blood-thirsty. He treacherously killed his elder brother who claimed the throne, and slew numerous members of the royal family. He oppressed monks and people alike, and at last killed with his own hand his step-mother, the princess of Paṭṭikera. The father of this lady was determined to take vengeance. Eight of his best guards offered to sacrifice their lives for this purpose. They entered Narathu's palace in the disguise of priests, and when the king came to take their blessings, drew out the daggers concealed under their robes and killed him. Thus died the cruel monster of a king after an inglorious reign of three years.

Narasiṁha (Naratheinkha) who succeeded his father Narathu was engaged in disreputable palace intrigue and killed after a reign of three years by his younger brother Narapatisithu. The latter ascended the throne in 1173 A.D. and his reign is chiefly remarkable for the dominance of Ceylon in religious matters. The Ceylonese Buddhism was introduced in Pagan in 1192 A.D., and ultimately replaced the Buddhism introduced from the Mon country in 1056 A.D. by Aniruddha. The king built the two beautiful temples known as Gawdaw-palin and Sulamani at Pagan and undertook many irrigation works. He nominated his youngest son Jayasiṁha (Zeyatheinkha) as his successor, and died in 1210.

Jayasiṁha, also known as Htilominlo and Nantaungmya, left the cares of state to his brothers and busied himself with religious activities, specially building temples. He built the Mahābodhi temple, in imitation of the famous temple at Bodh-Gayā, and another magnificent temple, called Htilominlo.

Kyaswa, who succeeded his father Jayasiṁha in 1234, was still more devoted to religious activities and spent his time in reading Buddhist scriptures and writing religious texts. He made the famous artificial reservoir known as the Emerald Lake, in Minbu district.

Uzana (Udayana ?) who succeeded his father Kyaswa in 1250 was a great contrast to his two predecessors. He was given to drinking and hunting, and was trampled to death by an elephant (1254 A.D.).

4. THE MONGOL CONQUEST AND DISINTEGRATION

Uzana's younger son Narasiṁhapati (Narathihapate) succeeded him. He was a pompous glutton who boasted that he swallowed three hundred dishes of curry daily and had three thousand concubines. Such a king was eminently unfit to face the storm which swept over the country. In 1253 the Mongol Chief Kublai Khan had annexed Yunnan. In 1271 he sent envoys to Burma asking the king to accept his suzerainty. As this was refused an imperial ambassador was sent in 1273. But as he and his colleagues refused to take off their shoes as often as was demanded by the etiquette, Narasiṁhapati executed them with their numerous retinue. Four years later the Burmese king even invaded Kangai, a state on the Taping river, 70 miles above Bhamo, on the ground that its chief had submitted to Kublai. The governor of Yunnan defeated the Burmese army. In 1283 the Burmese again raided the frontier and were again defeated with heavy loss. As soon as he heard the news king Narasiṁhapati fled from Pagan in panic and reached Bassein. The Mongols did not proceed to invade Burma, and when the king sent a monk offering submission, he received a sympathetic reply. But the defeat and cowardly flight of the king was a signal for revolt and conspiracy on all sides, and the king was murdered on his way to Pagan (1287 A.D.). The news of the king's death induced the Mongols to strike a final blow. Led by a grandson of Kublai Khan they marched to Pagan which perished 'amid the blood and flame of the Tartar Terror.' Thus ended the great kingdom founded by Aniruddha after a glorious existence of two hundred and forty years.

The conquest of Burma by Kublai Khan ushered in a period of political disintegration and cultural decay. Burma was now divided into a number of small principalities among which there stood out prominently as leading states: (1) Upper Burma, with its capital first at Pinya and then at Ava on the Upper Irawadi, dominated by the Shans; (2) Mon or Talaing kingdom of Pegu in the Delta; and (3) the Burmese kingdom of Toungoo intermediate between the two. The stories of the interminable fights, intrigues, cruelty and treachery of their chiefs fill the pages of the chronicles. As the Chinese empire now extended to the border of Burma, and she was politically subject to that great centre of civilisation, one might expect that a new era of culture, under Chinese influence, would dawn upon Burma. But the fact was just the opposite. The period of two hundred and fifty years that followed is almost a dark period in the history of Burmese civilisation. Civil wars among the petty states ruined the peace and prosperity of the

people; art and literature languished; and the framework of civilisation built up by the Indians maintained a precarious existence. Pagodas continued to be built, but "most of them are of a sort which might just as well remain unbuilt, while even the best cannot be mentioned in the same breath as the temples of Pagan." It was not till the 16th century when Burma was once more re-united under a single dynasty that the torch of civilisation lighted by the Indians, which feebly flickered so long, again flared up, removed the darkness that enveloped the country and ushered in a new dawn of progress and prosperity.

5. HINDU CULTURE IN ARIMARDANAPURA

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the elements of Indian culture and civilisation in Burma during the rule of the Pagan dynasty, for they are substantially present even today. The chief notable factor is the gradual disappearance of Brahmanical religion leading to the exclusive predominance of the Theravāda form of Buddhism. The kings of the new dynasty showed great zeal in the propagation of the new doctrine, and many of them have left evidence of unparalleled piety and devotion to it. The Pali literature was cultivated with great assiduity, and a Pali literature grew on the soil of Burma. This was facilitated by a close association with Ceylon, which became stronger in proportion as Buddhism lost its hold in India.

One singular trait in Burmese Buddhism is an attempt to transfer to the soil of Burma the important events and localities associated with Buddhism. Thus the Buddha, according to Burmese legends, visited many places in the country, and many episodes in the career of the great master, as found in the scriptures, are supposed to have taken place in various localities in Burma. Sometimes the Buddha is even made to prophesy the growth of important cities like Pagan and Mandalay. Of similar psychological import is the endeavour to trace the ruling dynasties of Burma as directly descended from the Śākya clan, of which Buddha was a member, as in the case of Tagaung; or, as in the case of Arakan, to explain the origin of the royal family by adopting a Jātaka story with suitable modifications of localities.

The dynastic pride, religious fervour and the natural instincts of the colonists to import familiar place-names in their land of adoption have all resulted in the introduction of quite a large number of well-known Indian geographical names into Burma. Some of these names are fairly early. The name Maurya, used in

Burmese inscriptions to denote Mweyin on the Upper Irawadi, is probably the origin of Ptolemy's Mareura, and thus goes back to the second century A.D. Śrīksetra and Haṁsāvatī also must be older than 5th or 6th century A.D. Some of the other old and important names are Aparānta, Asitāñjana, Avanti, Bārāṇasī, Champānagara, Dhanyavatī, Dvāravatī, Gandhāra, Kāmboja, Kelasa (Kailāsa), Kusumapura, Mithilā, Pushkara, Pushkarāvatī, Rājagṛiha, Saṅkāsya, Utkala, Vaiśālī *etc.* This list may be multiplied almost to any extent. Not only legends concerning Buddha, but even scenes of subsequent episodes in the history of Buddhism and in the lives of previous Buddhas or holy men referred to in Buddhist literature are located in Burma. Most of the places visited by Asoka's missionaries are also placed there. Nowhere else, in Indian colonies, we find such a deliberate attempt to create a new India.

The most important aspect of the development of Buddhism in Burma is the growth of a distinct and voluminous Pali literature. The knowledge and study of the Buddhist canon may be regarded as a common feature in every Indian colony where Buddhism made its influence felt, but nowhere else, except in Ceylon, has it led to the adoption of the language of the sacred texts as a classic, which has evolved a new literature and continued its unbroken career down to the present times.

Even a brief outline of the Pali literature of Burma cannot be attempted here. Fortunately there are standard works, by Dr. Bode and others, which give adequate account of this fascinating subject. It is only necessary to emphasise its extensive scope which embraced not only the different aspects of Buddhism, its doctrine, monastic discipline and philosophical speculations, but also an intensified study of the grammar of the language, and various secular subjects including law and politics. So voluminous did it grow that it was necessary to write a history of this literature. One such treatise, Gandhavaṁsa, was written in the seventeenth, and another, Sāsanavaṁsa, in the nineteenth century.

There was a great literary activity in Burma even in the nineteenth century when the country was conquered by the British. The reign of Min-don-min (1852-1877) has been described as a golden age both of Buddhism and Pali literature, when the Burmese *theras* made a conscious attempt to revive the ancient tradition as faithfully as possible. As Bode has observed: "Thus the nineteenth century is linked with the twelfth, the history of Pali literature in Burma repeats itself." But this scholarship has not died out in Burma. The same scholar has pointed out that "scholarship in the twentieth century followed the lines first traced as long ago as the twelfth century in Burma." He has given a long list of works

composed by a learned monk at the beginning of this century which is fairly representative of the fields covered by Pali literature.

Some idea of the literary activity in Burma may be obtained from an inscription dated 1442 A.D. recording the gifts by a Governor and his wife to the Buddhist Order. In addition to a monastery, garden, paddy lands and slaves, they offered a collection of manuscripts. Fortunately a list is given of the texts thus offered, and it includes 295 separate works. It gives us a clear idea of the Pali Literature in Burma before the 15th century A.D. and enables us to fix the dates of many works.

The list contains a number of titles of Sanskrit works. We have already seen above that knowledge of Sanskrit was cultivated in Burma as far back as the early centuries of the Christian era. The list proves that, in spite of the dominance of Buddhism and Pali, Sanskrit language and literature had not altogether vanished from its soil. As a matter of fact the Burmese Pali literature on Law—Dhammasathas—was based on Sanskrit originals, and did not owe anything to Ceylon which inspired its other branches. It is now generally agreed that the low-codes of Burma, both ancient and modern, were based on the Hindu Dharmaśāstras like those of Manu, Nārada and Yājñavalkya. Of course, the dominance of Buddhism has modified the provisions of this law in many respects, but there is no doubt of the Indian origin. The Dhammasatha compiled by king Wagaru of Lower Burma towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. was translated into Pali in the 16th century by a Talaing jurist named Buddhaghosha, as the work was known till then only in the Talaing language. The Pali book was named Manu-sāra, and a good many works of the same kind, composed in the 17th and 18th centuries, were named after Manu, thus showing the association of the Burmese law-code with the Indian Dharmaśāstras. It is difficult to realise fully the part played by the Pali literature in developing the intellectual, moral and social life in Burma. As a foreign critic has observed :

> "Burma shows how the leaven of Indian thought worked in a race and idiom having no close relationship with India. We may say that the essentially Indian genius, the psychological subtleties, the high thoughts of Buddhism have forced the Burmese language to grow, deepen and expand continually. When Burmese was at last raised (in or about the fourteenth century) to the level of a literary language, it was by the addition of a great body of Indian words necessary to express ideas beyond the scope of that picturesque vernacular."

We may conclude this topic with a few more observations of the same author :

> "The great historical service of the Pali literature is to show the peculiarly Buddhistic character of Burmese civilization. If we follow the calm main stream of Buddhist belief, as we see it in the religious and scholarly literature of

Burma, we cannot but feel impressed by the continuity of its progress, and the force of its unbroken tradition. When we follow in the chronicles the struggle of the neighbouring states we must needs wonder at the Law that never failed, in the end, to dominate barbarism, to make customs milder and laws more just, to do away with barriers by raising men above them. Of that Righteous Law as a social and intellectual influence the Pali literature is an almost complete embodiment. Thus to use the ancient metaphor, India conquered Burma. Of all the conquests in history none has been more enduring or more beneficent."

Reference has been made above to the building of temples by various kings. Many of them are fine pieces of architecture and reflect great credit on the artistic skill of the people. There was an extraordinary activity in architecture, sculpture and painting, but practically everything bears the stamp of Indian workmanship. Indeed constant and intimate intercourse between India and Burma was an important feature in the evolution of Burmese civilisation, and we find streams of merchants, artisans, Brahmins, soldiers, astrologers and Buddhist missionaries from India visiting and settling in different parts of Burma. On the other hand the Burmese visited India in large number for purposes of trade and paying visit to holy shrines. A story preserved in a local chronicle depicts the Burmese captain of a ship regularly trading in divine images. He bought at Benares the holy images picked by men from the ruins of old temples washed by the Ganges, and carried them for sale to Pegu. This may be one of the ways in which Indian art influenced that of Burma. But the easy facilities of communication between India and Burma both by land and sea must be regarded as the primary cause which intensified the Indian culture and made it durable in Burma.

The Ānanda temple in Pagan, to which reference has been made above in connection with king Kyanzittha, is the finest in the whole of Burma (Pl. XIX). It occupies the centre of a spacious courtyard which is 564 ft. square. The main temple, made of bricks, is square in plan, each side measuring 175 ft. A large gabled porch, 57 ft. long, projects from the centre of each face of this square, so that the total length of the temple, from end to end, on every side, is nearly 290 ft. In the interior the centre is occupied by a cubical mass of brickworks, with a deep niche on each side, containing a colossal standing Buddha image, 31 ft. in height above the throne which is about 8 ft. high. The central mass is surrounded by two parallel corridors, with cross passages for communication between the porch and the Buddha image on each side.

Externally, the walls of the temple, 39 ft. high, are crowned with a battlemented parapet, having a ringed pagoda at each corner. Above the parapet rise in succession the two roofs over the two parallel corridors below, each having a curvilinear outline and an

elongated *stūpa* at the corner and a dormer-window in imitation of the porches at the centre. Above these two roofs are four receding narrow terraces which serve as the basement of a *śikhara* crowned by a *stūpa* with an elongated bell-shaped dome and a tapering iron *hti* as its finial. Each of the receding stages has the figure of a lion at the corner and small imitation porch openings in the centre. Apart from the graceful proportions and the symmetry of design, the beauty of the Ānanda temple is enhanced by the numerous stone sculptured reliefs and glazed terra-cotta plaques that adorn its walls. The stone-reliefs, eighty in number, and some of the plaques illustrate the principal episodes in the Buddha's life, and 926 plaques depict the Jātaka stories. The unique character of the plan of the temple has evoked much discussion about its origin. But, as noted above, there is no doubt of its Indian origin. Temples of the same type existed in Bengal and most probably suggested the model of the Ānanda temple. This is the view of Duroiselle who has made a special study of the subject in recent times. He further observes as follows :

> "There can be no doubt that the architects who planned and built the Ānanda were Indians. Everything in this temple from *Śikhara* to basement, as well as the numerous stone sculptures found in its corridors and the terra-cotta plaques adorning its basement and terraces, bear the indubitable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship . . . In this sense, we may take it, therefore, that the Ānanda, though built in the Burmese capital, is an Indian temple."

The plain around Pagan, about one hundred square miles in area, is full of ruins and must have once been covered by numerous shrines. It was estimated by Yule that there are remains of no less than 800 or 1000 temples in the city of Pagan itself, extending about 8 miles along the Irawadi with an average depth of 2 miles. A few of them, in a fair state of preservation, are quite magnificent. Their plan is the same as that of Ānanda the difference being only in details. All these were built before the fall of Pagan *i.e.* before the end of the 13th century A.D. and practically nothing is to be found in them that does not bear the stamp of Indian workmanship.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN COLONISATION IN SIAM

The country, until recently known as Siam, is now called Thailand, or the land of the Thais. In spite of the popular etymology which seeks to explain it as the land of the Free (Thai), there is no doubt that Thai is a tribal name and Thailand properly denotes the land of the Thais.

The Thais, however, did not establish political ascendency in Siam till the thirteenth century. For at least one thousand years before that, Siam was colonised by the Hindus and a number of Hindu principalities flourished in various parts of it.

The beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Siam may be traced to the first two centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier still. The oldest examples of Indian sculpture, dug up at Pra Pathom, belong to the second century A.D., or possibly a somewhat earlier date. The remains recently dug up at Pong Tuk, twenty miles further to the west, including remains of a temple and a little statuette of a walking Buddha, may also be referred to the same period. Images of both Brahmanical and Buddhist deities, of the Gupta style, have been found all over the country. A Sanskrit inscription, belonging to the fourth century A.D., has been found at Mung Si Tep near Pechaburi, along with Śaiva and Vaishṇava sculptures.

The character of some of the Buddhist sculptures, which reflect the most primitive ideas of Buddhism, forms, according to Coedés, "a very strong argument in favour of an early colonisation of Southern Siam by Indian Buddhists." "One is even induced," says he, "to wonder whether that region with its many toponyms like Supan, Kanburi, U. Thong, meaning "Golden Land," has not a better claim than Burma to represent Suvarṇabhūmi, the "Golden Land," where according to Pali scriptures and ancient traditions, Buddhist teaching spread very early.

Whatever we may think of this there cannot be any doubt that there were many Hindu colonies in Siam since the first or second century A.D.

But none of these early colonies grew up into any powerful kingdom. As already noted above, the major part of Siam was subject to the kingdom of Fu-nan. It is not till after the fall of Fu-nan that we find an important principality in Siam called Dvāravatī, with its capital at Lopburi (Lavapuri) or at Sup'am. Dvāravatī sent embassies to China in A.D. 638 and 649 and seems to have extended from borders of Cambodia to the Bay of Bengal. As stated above, the Hinduised Mons dominated over this kingdom and extended their influence as far north as Haripuñjaya or Lamphun. This kingdom flourished till the tenth century when the kings of Kambuja extended their supremacy over the Lower Menam valley. Gradually the Kambuja authority was established over the whole of Siam. The Kambuja control continued till the 13th century A.D. when the Thais established several independent states.

Before taking up the history of the Thais, we must say a few words about the culture of Siam before their advent to power. As proved by the inscriptions, sculpture and architecture, Siam thoroughly imbibed Indian civilisation during this period. Indian religions and religious texts, and Indian language and literature exercised a predominant influence all over the country which exists even to this day. The early Buddhist sculptures of the Dvāravatī period show a very close resemblance to the contemporary Gupta art of India, and the face of the images is typically Indian. Although the later images, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, have a more Mongoloid face, they clearly belong to Indian school of art somewhat modified by local influence. Some of the sculptures are of high artistic value, and it is surprising that these have been found even far into the interior, remote from the sea-shore where we naturally expect the stronghold of Indian colonists. Siam has yielded quite a large number of sculptures, both in stone and bronze. The oldest examples, dug up at Pra Pathom, represent the Wheel of the Law (*Dharmachakra*) associated with figures of crouching deer. This presumably belongs to that stage in Indian art when the Buddha was never represented as human being and was only indicated by symbols. The actual specimen of Siam may not be so old, but is certainly not later than the first or second century A.D. In that case we must suppose that the original Buddhist shrine at Pra Pathom, which was decorated by these sculptures, belonged to an earlier period when the figure of the Buddha was still unknown in Indian iconography, *i.e.*, before the beginning of the Christian era, and the tradition was continued in later times. These sculptures therefore furnish a very strong evidence for the early colonisation of Southern Siam by Indian Buddhists. The

Bronze Buddha image found at Pong Tuk belongs to the Amarāvatī school of art of the second century A.D. A large number of Buddhist images show distinctly the Gupta style, of an earlier and a later type. Two stone statues, of the later type, appear from inscriptions engraved on them to belong to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. The earlier images may, therefore, be referred to the fourth century A.D. The torso of a Yakshinī, belonging to this period, is a remarkably fine piece of sculpture. It was found at Si Tep (Śrī Deva) near Pechaburi, remote from the sea-shore and showing the influence of Indian culture spreading far into the interior.

Some Brahmanical sculptures, though belonging to the same period, are not so close copies of the Gupta original, indicating the influence of indigenous elements. Nevertheless the sculpture of the Dvāravatī period must be regarded as products of the Gupta art with more or less local modifications. During the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries the Hinduised Khmer art of Kambuja profoundly influenced that of Siam, but the original Indian character was never lost.

As in sculpture, so in architecture, Siam seems to have copied Indian models of different periods. Unfortunately the early examples, mostly built of perishable materials, have vanished. But the fact that in later examples we get almost all the types, derived from India, which are met with in different Indian colonies in the Far East, such as Java, Kambuja, Champā and Burma, seems to indicate their existence in old times. The conservative character of Siamese art is indicated by the curious example of a thirteenth century stone-railing at Savankalok which offers striking resemblance to that of Sanchi stūpa. The most distinctive architectural type in Siam is what is known as Prang, a square temple with a very high roof consisting of a number of low stages which, taken together, have the aspect of a curvilinear *śikhara.* This has been a fashionable mode of building since the fourteenth century, and is no doubt evolved from earlier examples which were made up of a curious blend of the *śikharas* of North and South India (Pl. XX).

CHAPTER V

THE THAIS

1. Early History

The Thais are a Mongolian tribe and are generally believed to be ethnically related to the Chinese. They lived in southern and south-eastern part of the country now known as China. Long before the beginning of the Christian era large groups of them migrated to the south and south-west, and set up a number of independent principalities. The date and gradual stages of their advance cannot be determined with certainty, but by the 8th or 9th century A.D. they advanced as far as the Upper Irawadi and the Salween Rivers in the west and the frontier of Siam and Cambodia in the south.

The most powerful of the Thai principalities comprised the territory which we now call Yunnan. It did not then form a part of China, but was frequently invaded by the Chinese. The Thais of Yunnan, though occasionally defeated, and subjugated for longer or shorter periods, never ceased to defy the authority of the Chinese. By the seventh century A.D. they had freed themselves completely from Chinese control and established a powerful kingdom which played an important rôle in Indo-China for six hundred years.

Although allied to the Chinese in blood, and living near them under their political control for centuries, the Thais of Yunnan were brought under the influence of Indian culture. Although the Chinese referred to the country as Nan-Chao, it was known in Indo-China as Gandhāra ; one part of it was also called Videha-rājya, and its capital was known as Mithilā. The people used an alphabet of Hindu origin. Local traditions in Yunnan affirm that Avalokiteś-vara came from India and converted the region to Buddhism. It is said that when, towards the close of the 8th century A.D., the ruler of this kingdom became enamoured of Chinese civilisation, seven religious teachers of India rebuked the king. In the first half of the ninth century A.D. a Hindu monk named Chandragupta, born in Magadha and therefore designated Māgadha, led a brilliant career

of a thaumaturgist in Yunnan. There was in Yunnan the famous Pippala cave, the Bodhi tree, the sacred hill Gṛidhrakūṭa and many other localities associated with Buddhism. A Chinese traveller of the tenth century A.D. refers to a local tradition that Śākyamuni obtained Bodhi near Lake Ta-li in Yunnan. The Buddhist influence in Yunnan is still attested by two bells of the 11th century with inscriptions in Chinese and Sanskrit. The king of Nan-chao had the title Mahārāja and also another Hindu title, which means the king of the east. According to local tradition the royal family was descended from Asoka. Rasiduddin, writing in the 13th century, not only calls the country Gandhāra but asserts that its people came from India and China. All these demonstrate that the Thais of Yunnan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation to a very large extent.

There were many other Thai States to the west and south of Yunnan. The Chinese refer to the Brahmana kingdom of Ta-tsin to the east of the mountain ranges that border Manipur and Assam, and another about 150 miles further east, beyond the Chindwin river. Whether these were mainly peopled by the Hinduised Thai we cannot say. But a group of Thai states, united in a sort of loose federation, which occupied the region between the Irawadi and the Salween was known as Kauśāmbī. The southern part of this is now known as the Shan States, the Shan tribe being that branch of the Thais which proceeded farthest in the western direction. To the east of these were a series of small states extending from the frontier of Yunnan to those of Kambuja and Siam. These were, from north to South, Alāvirāshṭra, Khmerarāshṭra, Suvarna-grāma, Unmārga-śilā, Yonakarāshṭra, Haripuñjaya and many others whose internecine wars and consequent changes in boundaries and sometimes also in names are recorded in the local chronicles, written in Pali, of which we possess quite a large number. According to the chronicles, the first Thai prince to settle on the southern bank of the Mekong was Brahma (Prom) who founded the city of Jayaprākār in the district of Chieng Rai early in the second half of the ninth century A.D. The Pali chronicles give detailed accounts of the ruling dynasties and the religious foundations of the different local states. These cannot be regarded as historical annals in the sense in which we understand the term, but they leave no doubt that the main spring of the civilisation of most of the Thai States lay in India and not in China. The evidence of the Pali Chronicles is fully corroborated by the archaeological finds, for images of the Gupta style and those of somewhat later date have been found in these regions. It is a significant fact that these Thais, though ethnically belonging to the same race as the Chinese, and living nearer to them, should have

been brought so profoundly under the influence of Hindu culture and civilisation rather than Chinese. It is accordingly very likely that the Hindus had set up colonies in these regions, or at least settled there in large number.

There is nothing to be surprised at this. For we have definite evidence that as early as the second century B.C. there was regular communication, by overland route, between East India and Yunnan. In the second century B.C. Chang-kien, the famous Chinese ambassador in Bactria was surprised to find there Chinese silk and bamboo products which, he learnt on enquiry, came from Yunnan and Szechuan across the whole breadth of Northern India right up to Afghanistan and Bactria beyond the Hindukush. The two Indian Buddhist missionaries who visited China in the first century A.D. most probably passed through the upper valley of the Irawadi and Yunnan. There are references also to the regular communication between China and Western Asia, *via* Yunnan, Upper Burma and India, in the first, second and third centuries A.D. I-tsing also refers to 20 Chinese pilgrims as having gone to India from Szechuan through Upper Burma in the third or fourth century A.D. The geographical memoir of Kia Tan, written between 785 and 805 A.D., describes two routes leading from Tonkin through Yunnan and Burma to India. That this route was well frequented in the tenth century A.D. is attested by the fact that the 300 religious missionaries sent by the Chinese Emperor to India in 964 A.D. in search of sacred texts, returned by way of Yunnan. Thus although the direct land-route from India to hinterland in Indo-China was comparatively little known in recent past, the case was different in ancient times, and a constant stream of Indian emigrants passed by this route to spread Indian culture and civilisation in this region.

The independent Hinduised Thai Kingdom of Gandhāra grew to be a powerful and organised state. At first it lived in peace with China and concluded treaties of friendship with her. Kolofeng who ascended the throne in A.D. 750, and made Tali-fu his capital, paid a visit to China. Being insulted there, he returned indignant and invaded China. He captured thirty-two towns and villages and thrice defeated the Chinese forces sent against him. He formed an alliance with Tibet and defeated the Chinese again in 754 A.D. inflicting heavy losses upon them. Imoshun, who succeeded his grandfather Kolofeng in A.D. 770, invaded China with his Tibetan allies, but was defeated. Thereupon he concluded a treaty with China, massacred the Tibetans in his kingdom and successfully invaded Tibet, capturing sixteen towns and carrying away an immense booty. But the peace with China did not last long. In

A.D. 820 China was again invaded by a successor of Imoshun who brought back many captives including skilled artisans. In A.D. 850 the king of Gandhāra assumed the title of Emperor. This gave great offence to the Tang Emperor of China, and a long war followed in which the Chinese were consistently unsuccessful. The emperor of Gandhāra invaded Tonkin in A.D. 858 and conquered Annam in 863 A.D. But the Chinese recovered it three years later. A new emperor of Gandhāra, called Fa by the Chinese, succeeded to the throne in 877 A.D. He made peace with China and in A.D. 884 his son married a daughter of the Chinese emperor. Henceforth China left Gandhāra in peace. The failure of the great Tang dynasty in its protracted struggle with her made deep impression in China about her power. Indeed so painful was the memory of this fruitless campaign that when the general of the first Song Emperor (960-976 A.D.) proposed to invade Gandhāra, the latter, reflecting upon the disasters sustained by the Chinese under the Tang dynasty, refused to have anything to do with that kingdom.

Excepting the Gandhāra or Videharājya in modern Yunnan, the other Hinduised Thai States could not rise to great power or influence, being mostly subordinate to and often annexed by their more powerful neighbours, the Hinduised Burmans, Mons and Khmers.

The Hinduised Thai kingdom of Gandhāra flourished till 1253 A.D. when it was conquered by the great Mongol Chief Kublai Khan. In an attempt to attack China from the south Kublai performed one of the most daring military feats recorded in the annals of the world. Marching at the head of 100,000 men from Ning-hsia in Mongolia he passed over the snow-capped mountain chains, several hundreds of miles in length,—savage outliers of the Kuen Lun mountains and the Himalayas—which stood like an impenetrable wall between China and the lofty plateau of Tibet. Fighting intermittently with war-like hill tribes, he made his way for a thousand of miles through ice-bound valleys till he reached the banks of the Yang-se-kiang on the border of Yunnan. The king of Gandhāra refused to submit and resisted the Mongols with all his might. He was defeated in several engagements, and his capital was captured. At last the king surrendered in 1253 A.D. and the Hinduised Thai kingdom of Gandhāra ceased to exist.

The destruction of the kingdom of Gandhāra perhaps led to a general movement of the Hinduised Thais from this state towards the south and west, and accounts for the gradual expansion and consolidation of the Thai kingdoms in these regions. Whether this view be correct or not, there is no doubt that in the thirteenth

century A.D. we find the Thais advancing to the furthest extent in all directions. They conquered Assam in the north and advanced up to Tennasserim and Arakan in the west. Further, the Shans, who lived in the hilly region along the eastern border of Burma, grew more powerful and became the real rulers of Upper Burma for nearly two centuries and a half (1287-1531 A.D.). But it was in the south that this conquest was more brilliant and enduring, for the Thais established their authority over the whole of Siam and rule there to this day.

2. THE THAIS IN SIAM

As in Burma, the Thais must have settled in Siam long before the 13th century, and it is probable that they set up small principalities. King Phrom of Sib Song Chu Thai and his successors extended the Thai dominion over what is now French Laos, including the Mekong valley with the cities of Luang Prabang and Vieng Chan as well as Northern Udon and right over westwards to Pechabun and Chalieng (old Savankalok). But the first Thai kingdom of importance was that of Sukhodaya, founded in the thirteenth century by a chief named Indrāditya. It was the result of a successful rebellion against the king of Kambuja to whom the whole of Siam was subject at this time. A Kambuja general was sent to put down the revolt but was defeated in a pitched battle, and the victorious Indrāditya founded an independent kingdom with his capital at Sukhodaya (Sukhothai). Indrāditya spread his dominions in all directions by constant fights with his neighbours, and in one of these his son Ram Kamheng distinguished himself. The date of Indrāditya cannot be determined with certainty, but may be provisionally fixed at about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. He was succeeded by his second son who ruled for a few years, and after his death Ram Kamheng ascended the throne. He has left a long record which gives us detailed information about his family and his own achievements. He gives us a long list of countries conquered by him. This includes not only several Thai States in Siam, but also Haṁsāvatī or Pegu in Lower Burma and Nakhon Si Thammarat in Malay Peninsula. Even making due allowance for exaggerations he must be regarded as a great and powerful ruler who raised Sukhodaya to a powerful state. In addition to Sukhodaya the kingdom had another capital called Sajjanālaya and the kingdom is sometimes referred to as Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya.

Although Ram Kamheng's conquests extended from Luang

Prabang to Ligor and Vieng Chan to Pegu, it must not be presumed that the whole of Siam really formed a united kingdom under him. As a matter of fact Siam proper was divided into several states, of which at least three others, under independent Thai rulers, are well-known *viz.*, two in Lan Na Thai embracing the ancient Yonok of North Siam, and Lan Na Chang with its capital at Vieng Chan. Further, to the south of Sukhodaya, in the Lower Menam valley, was Lvo or Lopburi. All or most of these were under Kambuja sovereignty and seem to have acquired independence under adventurous Thai chiefs during the thirteenth century. The Chinese historians refer to frequent embassies from two states Sien and Lo-hu between 1282 and 1323 A.D. There is hardly any doubt that these two Chinese names stand for Shyām and Lopburi. It is thus apparent that Lopburi was still an important state even though it had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sukhodaya. It is interesting to note that the name Shyām (Siam) was still confined to the northern part of the country and was not applied to the whole of it. This distinction is also met with in Kambuja, where in the south-west gallery of Angkor Vat soldiers dressed like Cambodians are described in the inscribed labels as troops of Lvo, while others dressed and armed in a different manner are called soldiers of Shyām-kuṭ. That the name Shyām, originally denoting Sukhodaya, was afterwards applied to the whole country is no doubt due to the supremacy of Sukhodaya over other states in Siam, brought about by the victories of Ram Kamheng.

Apart from military skill Ram Kamheng possessed other qualities of a high order, and he truly deserves the title Ram Kamheng the Great. The high ideals of justice and humanity which ring through his long record are remarkable for the age and surroundings in which he lived. He describes the people as happy and enjoying plenty and prosperity under a just and benign rule. The king scrupulously observed the rights of his subjects and dealt even-handed justice to great and small alike. In order that even the meanest of his subjects can get his protection, he hung up a bell near the gate. Anyone who felt aggrieved and sought for royal protection was only to ring the bell. The king would hear this and mete out justice to him.

But the greatest boon that Ram Kamheng conferred upon his people was the introduction of a reformed system of alphabet suitable for the Thai language. The Indian alphabet, as modified in Kambuja, was hitherto current in Siam; he adapted it to suit the special needs of the Thais, and it has become the national alphabet of Siam. The king was an ardent follower of Buddhism and decorated Sukhodaya with temples, monasteries and images of

Buddha. The Buddhist sacred texts were held in great honour and regularly studied. Ram Kaṃheng's known dates are 1283 and 1292 A.D. but we have no exact idea of the reign-period of the king.

Of his son and successor Lo-Thai (Lodaiya) we do not know any thing. Lo-Thai's son Lu-Thai (Lidaiya) served as a regent during his father's reign for seven years (1340-1347 A.D.) and was formally consecrated to the throne in 1347 A.D. under the title Śrī Sūryavaṁśa Rāma Mahādharma-rājādhirāja. He was a Buddhist and studied *Vinaya, Abhidharma* and *Jyotisha.* He set up images of Vishṇu and Śiva, and in 1361 A.D. invited a learned Buddhist priest from Ceylon to his capital. He was a pious king devoted to religious activities, but was unable to keep his hold upon the extensive dominions conquered by Ram Kamheng. The Thai principality of Suwanpuni or Utong, which took the place of old Lopburi after conquering it, gradually became a powerful rival and annexed a part of the kingdom of Sukhodaya. In 1350, the ruler of Utong founded a new capital called Ayodhyā (Ayuthia) and formally proclaimed himself to be an independent king under the title Rāmādhipati. Henceforth, the kingdom of Ayodhyā takes the place of Sukhodaya as the leading Thai state in Siam. Rulers of Sukhodaya, shorn of power and glory, at first became vassals of Ayodhyā, and were gradually reduced to the position of hereditary governors of Sukhodaya. The kingdom of Ayodhyā gradually extended its authority over Laos and a large part of Cambodia, but suffered serious defeats in the hand of Burmese kings. Having passed through periods of power and glory as well as reverses and misfortunes, it has continued down to our own times. The city of Ayodhyā was destroyed in course of the Burmese invasion of 1767 A.D., and the capital was removed to Bangkok, which still occupies the same position.

The Thais were partially Hinduised even in their original homes, as already noted above. After the conquest of Siam they imbibed the Indian culture and civilisation, which was already flourishing in the land. The people and rulers of Sukhodaya and Ayodhyā were followers of Buddhism, and this is still the religion of the country. The Pali was the sacred language, and in the 15th and 16th centuries historical Chronicles and other texts were written in this language. Thus Siam, like Burma, has still preserved the Indian culture through language, literature, art and religion. Further, we find the same tendency as in Burma to give Indian names to cities and to connect the history with events recorded in the legends of the Buddha.

The Thai rulers of Siam also showed great zeal in building temples and images. The Thai art, though influenced by the

Hinduised art of Kambuja and Dvāravatī, shows new elements and developed new tendencies which formed the basis of the classical Siamese art. An eminent authority observes:

"At that time Indian influence was no longer felt directly, but such was the vitality and personality of the architectural forms of the *stūpas* and the *śikhars*, of the sculptural type of the Buddha images, and of so many decorative designs, that even without a preliminary study of how and when these forms reached Siam, a layman would at once, without the slightest difficulty, recognise in Siamese art a branch of Indian colonial art. Even Siamese minor arts as exemplified by silver work, lacquer work, carving and textile, show the Indian origin and stand in close connection with Indian art."

Indeed the archæological evidence leaves no doubt that Siamese art owes its origin to Indian colonists and was inspired and dominated throughout the ages by the classical art of India.

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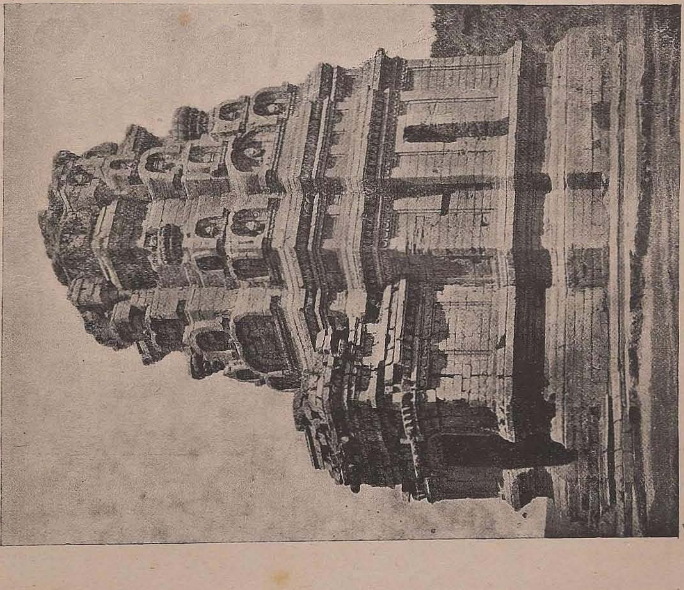


Fig. 1. Chandi Bima (Dieng, Java).

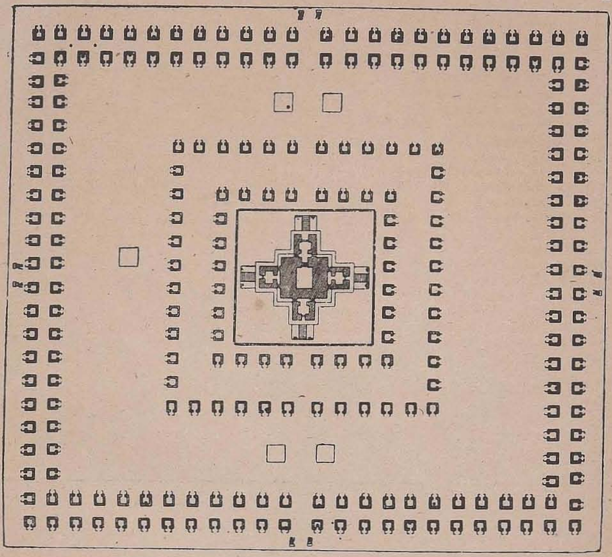
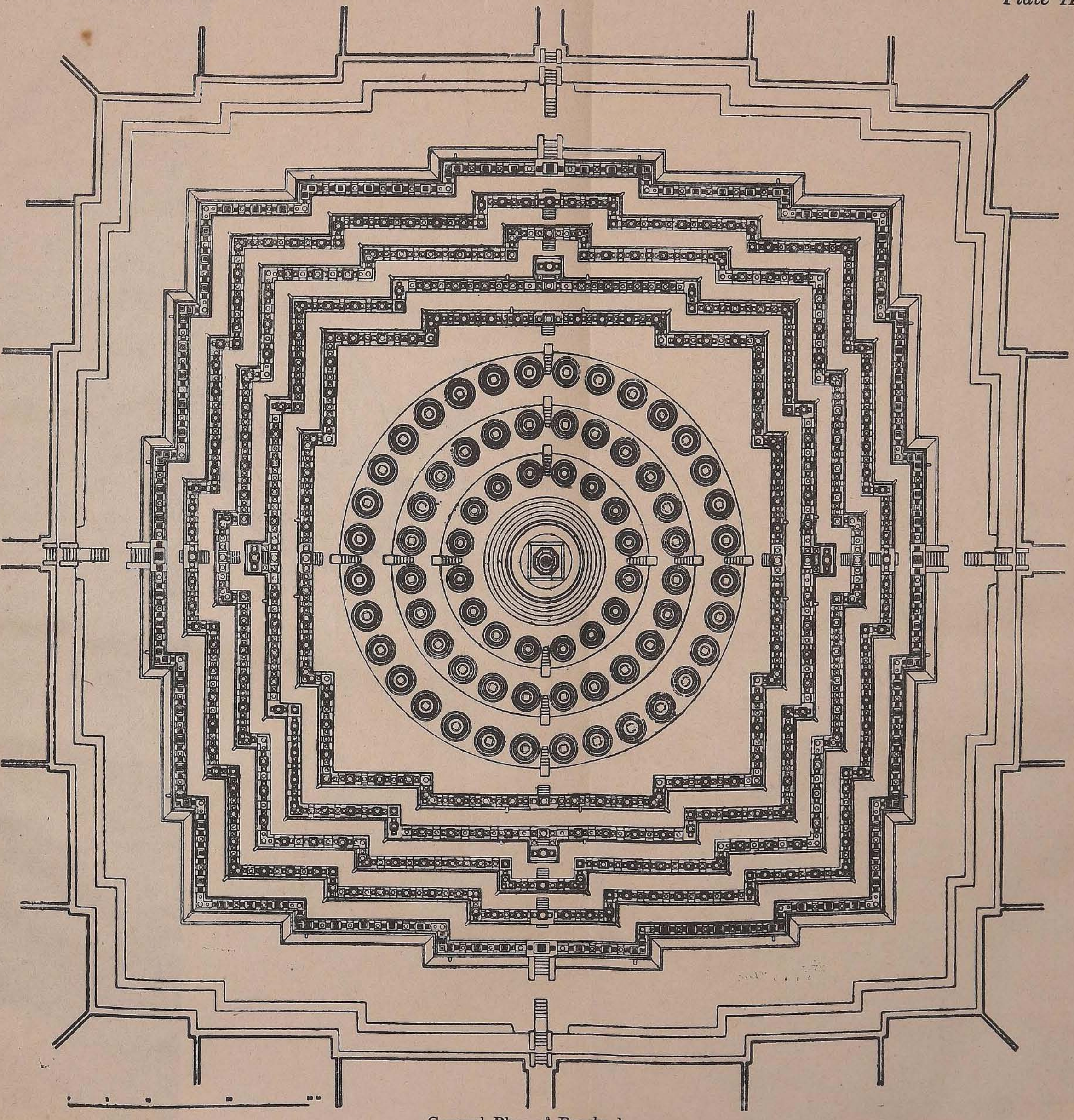
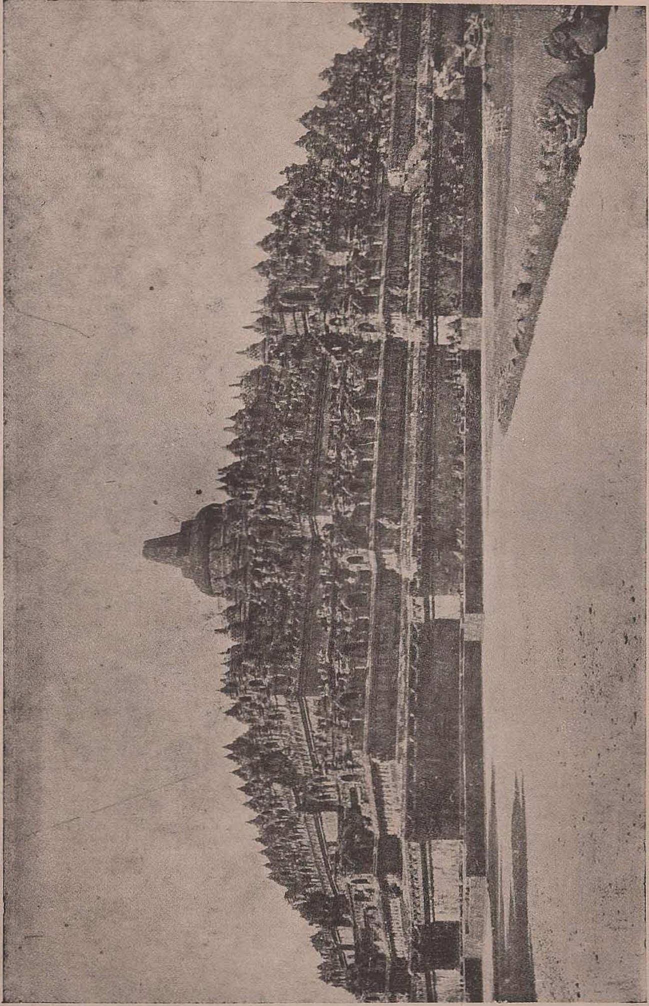


Fig. 2. General Plan of Chandi Sevu (Java)



General Plan of Barabudur



General view of Barabudur.

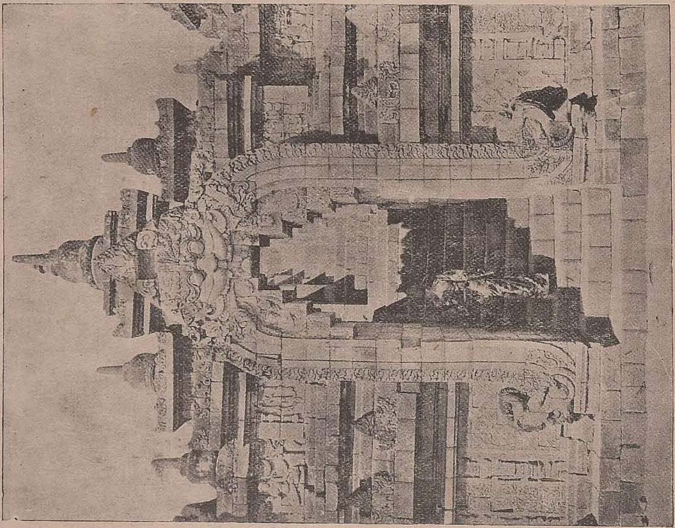


Fig. 2. Staircase and gateway, Barabudur.

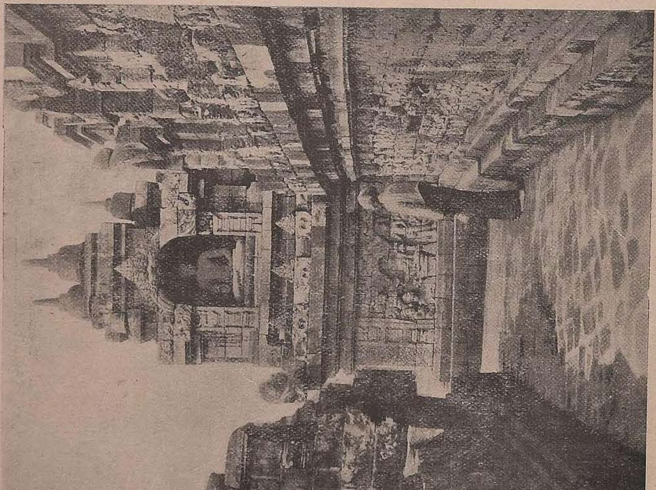
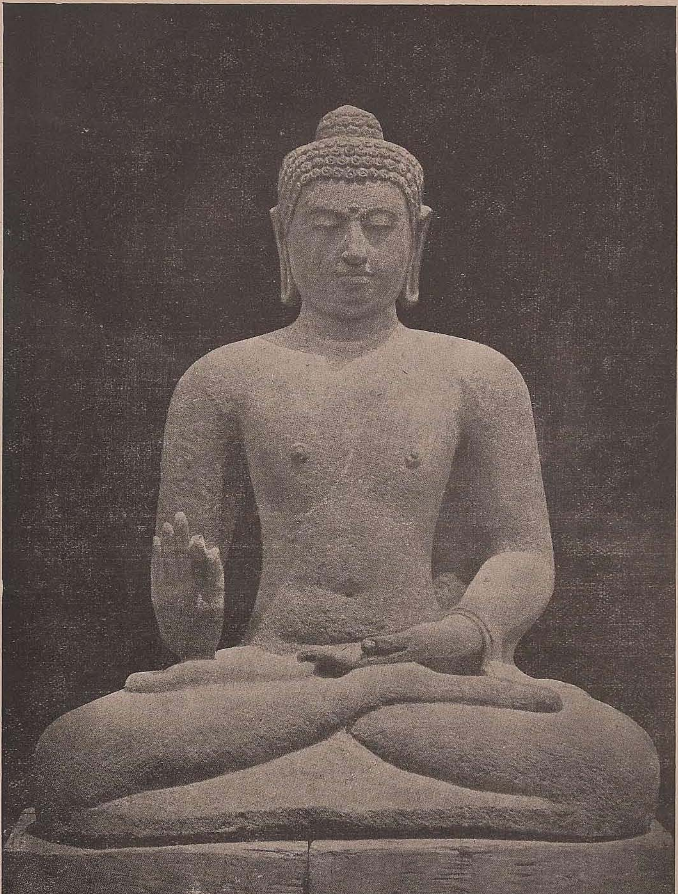
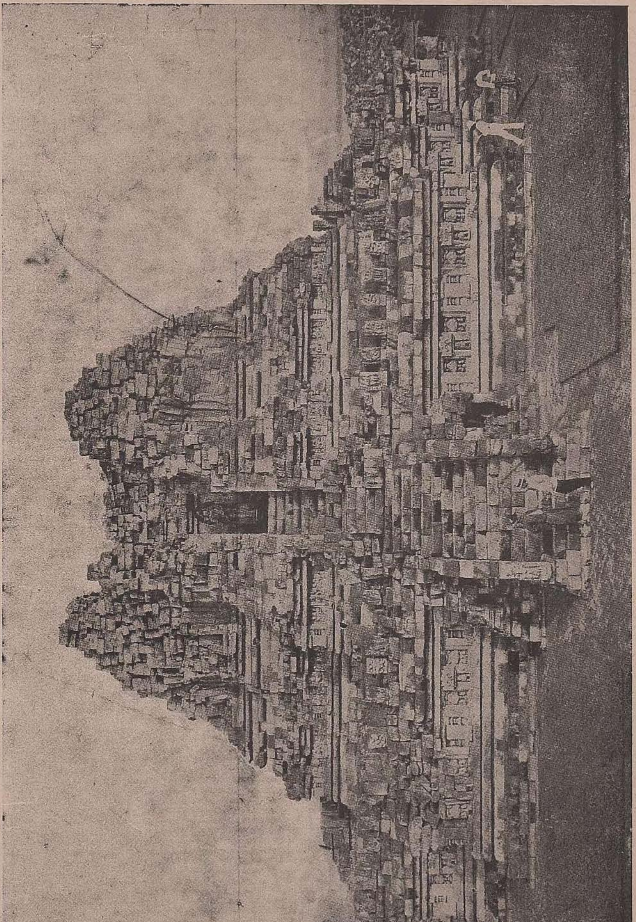


Fig. 1. Gallery, Barabudur.



Buddha, Barabudur

Bodhisatva Avalokitesvara Mendut.



Lara Jongrang.

Fig. 1. Chandi Kidal (Java).

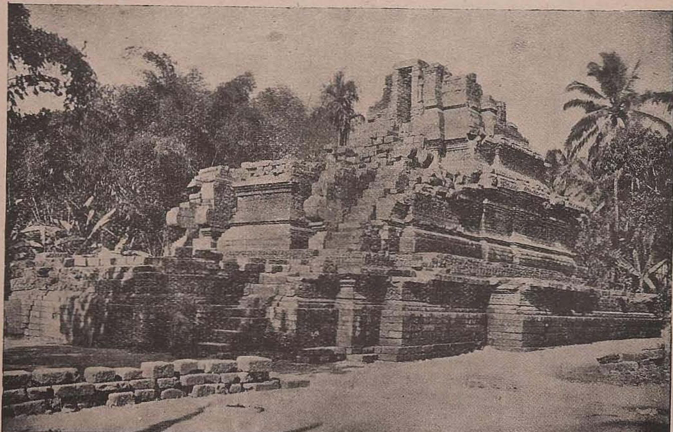


Fig. 2. Chandi Jago (Java).

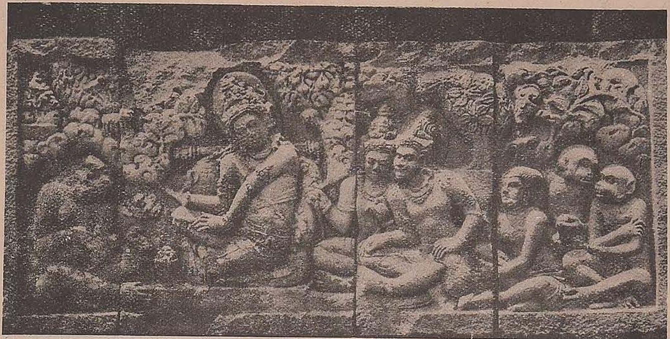


Fig. 1. Lara Jongrang Relief

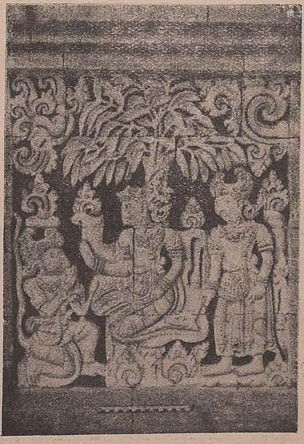
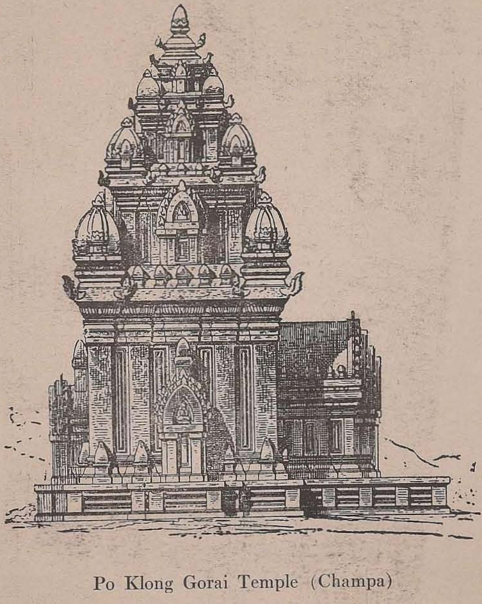


Fig. 2. Panataran Relief

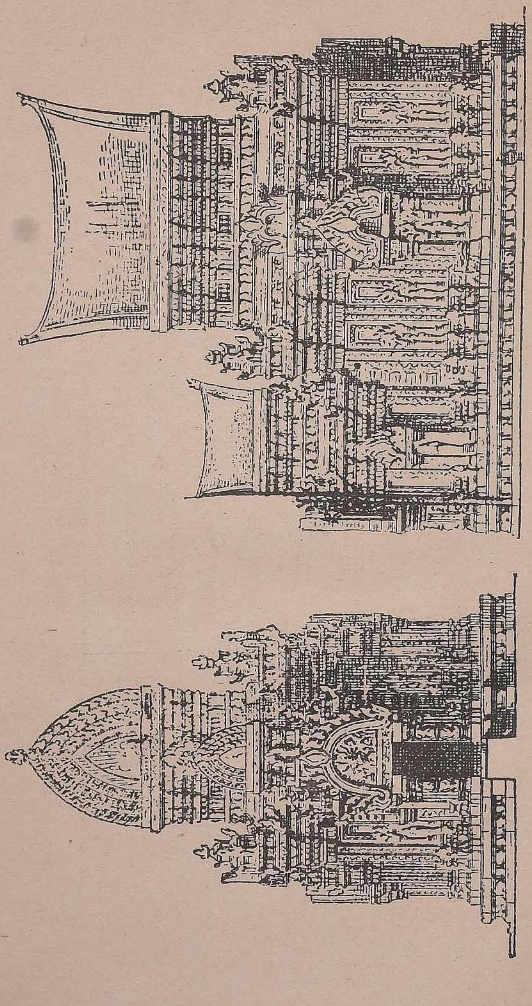
Prajnaparamita of Chandi Singhasari

Visnu (Belahan, Java).

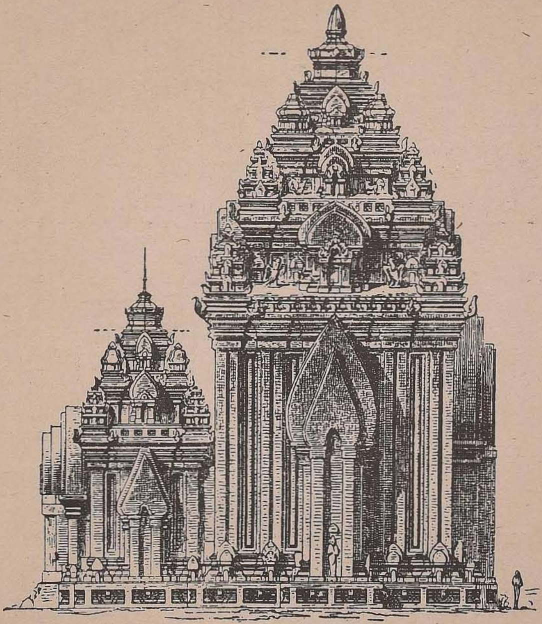
Harihara (Simping, Java)



Po Klong Gorai Temple (Champa)



Myson Temple, front and side views. (Champa)



Po Nagar Temple (Champa).

Fig. 1. Angkor Vat (Kambuja).

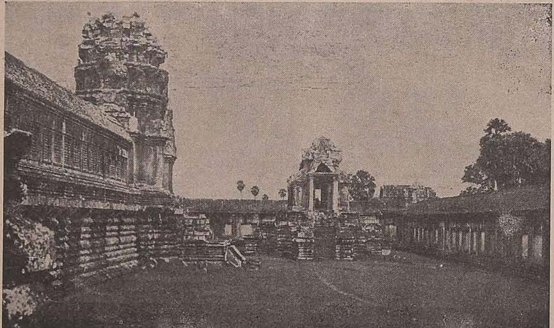


Fig. 2. Angkor Vat—N. W. Angle of the first Court

Fig. 1. Angkor Thom, Gateway (Kambuja)

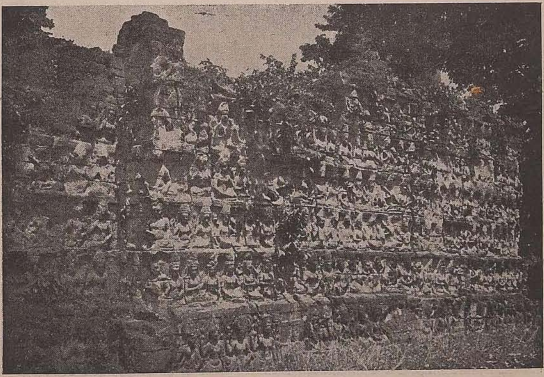
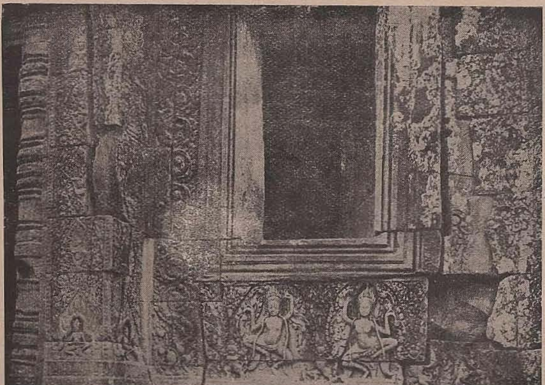
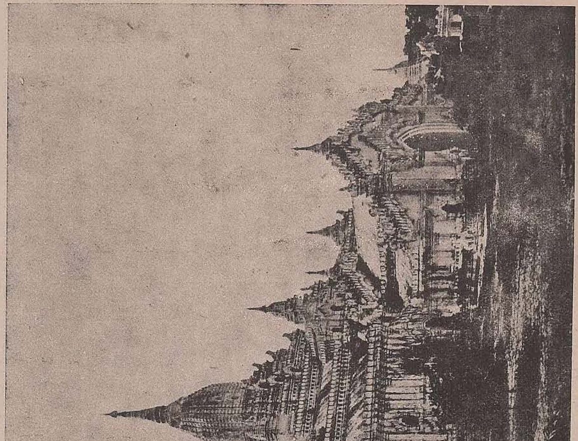


Fig. 2. Angkor Thom—Terrace of Honour

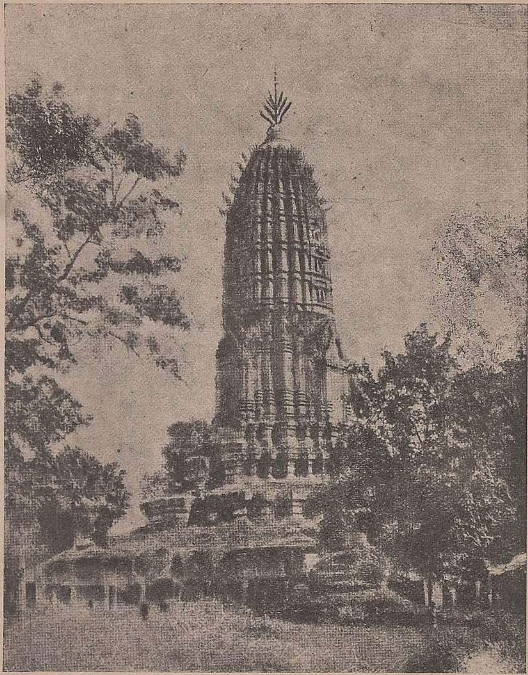
Bayon Temple (Kambuja)



Bayon Temple—decorations



Ananda Temple (Burma).



Prang (Siam)